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Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*
and Early Modern Print Culture

WITH

John N. King



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Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and Early Modern Print Culture

Second only to the Bible and Book of Common Prayer, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, known as the *Book of Martyrs*, was the most influential book published in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most complex and best-illustrated English book of its time, it recounted in detail the experiences of hundreds of people who were burnt alive for their religious beliefs. John N. King offers the most comprehensive investigation yet of the compilation, printing, publication, illustration, and reception of the *Book of Martyrs*. He charts its reception across different editions by learned and unlearned, sympathetic and antagonistic readers. The many illustrations included here, most of which are reproduced for the first time, introduce readers to the visual features of early printed books and general printing practices both in England and continental Europe, and enhance this important contribution to early modern literary studies, cultural and religious history, and the History of the Book.

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Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and Early Modern Print Culture

JOHN N. KING

The Ohio State University



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*In honor of James Bracken, Joseph Branin, Joseph Derbyshire,
Rachel Doggett, Lotte Hellinga, Richard Kuhta, Paul Morgan,
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William Studer, J. B. Trapp, Georgianna Ziegler, and
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My greatest obligation is to Pauline and Jonathan, my wife and son, for sustaining this project for many years.

Abbreviations

- A&M John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of the English Church* (also known as the *Book of Martyrs*), 1st–9th editions (1563–1684).
- BL British Library.
- ERL John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- FL Folger Shakespeare Library.
- HL Henry E. Huntington Library.
- JFER *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scholar, 1997).
- JFHA *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- JFHP *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
- JFHW *John Foxe and His World*, ed. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
- L&I Luborsky, Ruth Samson, and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, 2 vols. (Tempe: MRTS, 1998).
- Mozley J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940).
- OSU Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, The Ohio State University Libraries, Columbus, OH.
- SPART John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- TRI John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*, Princeton Essays on the Arts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- Voices John N. King, ed., *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Note on texts

Unless otherwise noted, London is the place of publication in pre-1900 books, and reference is to first editions. In the absence of pagination, I provide signature references from which I have omitted the abbreviation sig. Quotations from early printed books observe modern use of i/j, u/v, and w. Contractions are expanded, and book titles are supplied in abbreviated form with modernized spelling. I regularize typography to accord with modern usage. Literatim transcriptions from manuscripts and a xylographic woodcut contain expansions of brevigraphs and abbreviations in italics. All dates are in new style. Scriptural references are to *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). I often refer silently to the following resources: *ODNB*; *STC*; *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit and Washington, DC: Thomson/Gale Group in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003); *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1986); and *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Available online at <http://dictionary.oed.com/>

Because the present investigation focuses on the materiality and artifactuality of specific copies of early modern editions of *A&M*, it avoids reference to folio editions, abridgements, and selections printed after the 1680s. I refer throughout to copies of the early printed editions for textual references, evidence concerning typography and page layout, and copy-specific evidence concerning reception history (e.g., handwritten notes entered by readers). Unless otherwise noted, this study refers to multiple copies of *A&M* preserved at OSU. I also refer to my examination of a large number of copies of early editions that are preserved at the library collections cited in the Acknowledgments. The textual corruption of the nineteenth-century editions of *A&M* is now commonly acknowledged due to bibliographical studies cited during the course of the present study. Their defects undergo correction in the online genetic edition of the first four editions of *A&M*, which represents a great boon to scholarship. Its provision of textual variations that make each of the 1563–83 editions unique is particularly important. Although the posting of textual

transcriptions in *A&M* (online) is now complete, the present state of its commentary provides material concerning the reign of Mary I (i.e., Books 10–12 of the 1570–83 editions in addition to corresponding text in the 1563 version). The remainder of the commentary is forthcoming. Although I completed the writing of this book prior to the publication of the online version, I have incorporated references to introductory essays that were accessible as of 30 May 2005. I provide uncorrected pagination for all editions, but the reader may refer to *A&M* (online) in order to obtain corrected pagination for the four earliest editions.

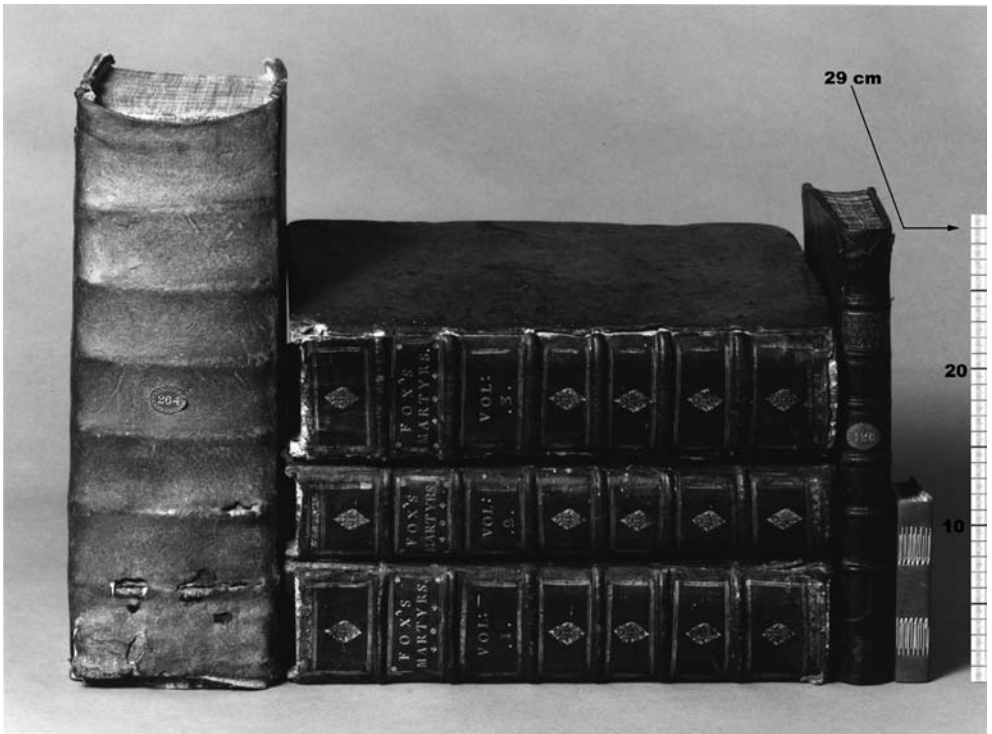
Introduction

The present study constitutes the history of a book that epitomizes the history of *the* book in early modern England. This inquiry investigates the exemplarity of the *Book of Martyrs* as a collection that embodies a range of practices related to early modern English printing, publication, and reception that is virtually complete. At the very same time, we must recognize that this extraordinary compilation is unlike any other book published in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. John Foxe's vast collection of unforgettable accounts of religious persecution and related documents centers on the experience of hundreds of people who were burnt alive for their religious beliefs during the reign of Mary I (1553–58). Foxe oversaw expansion of his martyrological history from about 55,000 words in its initial Latin installment to a text that ballooned from about 1.8 to 3.8 million words in four vernacular editions overseen by Foxe and his publisher, John Day. Nearly four times the length of the Bible,¹ the monumental fourth edition is the most physically imposing, complicated, and technically demanding English book of its era (see Figure 1). The second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587) may be somewhat longer, but it lacks the complexity of paratext and spectacular woodcut illustration that made Foxe's history the best-illustrated English book of its time. No other early modern English book exceeds it in length. Taking on a life of its own after the death of the compiler and his publisher, John Day, the *Book of Martyrs* appeared in five more unabridged editions by 1684. Revered by many Protestants as a "holy" book, it was frequently chained alongside the Bible for reading by ordinary people at many public places including cathedrals, churches, schools, libraries, guildhalls, and at least one inn. Exemplifying textual instability and multiple authorship, each edition reflects its historical moment both as an ideological construction and as an artifact of the hand-operated press. Containing an extraordinary array of genres (E.g., martyrologies, poems, speeches, tracts, biographies, historical documents, spiritual memoirs, letters, and more), these editions

¹ The length of the King James's Version (1611), including the Apocrypha, approximates 900,000 words. Word estimates for *A&M* exclude headlines and text in margins.

manifest a full range of printing practices that appeal to more and less learned readers. They include the interplay of different type founts, marginal glosses, woodcuts or engravings, two-color printing, cross-references, and indices.

The chief question posed by this study concerns how this aggregation of documents came to exert a greater influence on the consciousness of early modern England than any other book aside from the English Bible and Book of Common Prayer. Close examination of multiple copies of each edition suggests that Foxe's untiring energy as a collector of documents and his command of sophisticated editorial procedures, in combination with his publisher's mastery of book production and sales, enabled the *Book of Martyrs* to promote change in religion, national identity, and intellectual and social life. Not only does this study situate the *Book of Martyrs* within the context of printing and publication in London, but it also considers continental antecedents and the interchange between the circulation of manuscripts and printing of books. Exemplifying a



1. Selected editions and abridgements of the *Book of Martyrs*: The unabridged folio editions of 1583 (2 vols. bound as 1) and 1641–42 (3 vols.); Thomas Mason's *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny* (1615) in folio; first edition of Clement Cotton's *The Mirror of Martyrs* (1613) in duodecimo format.

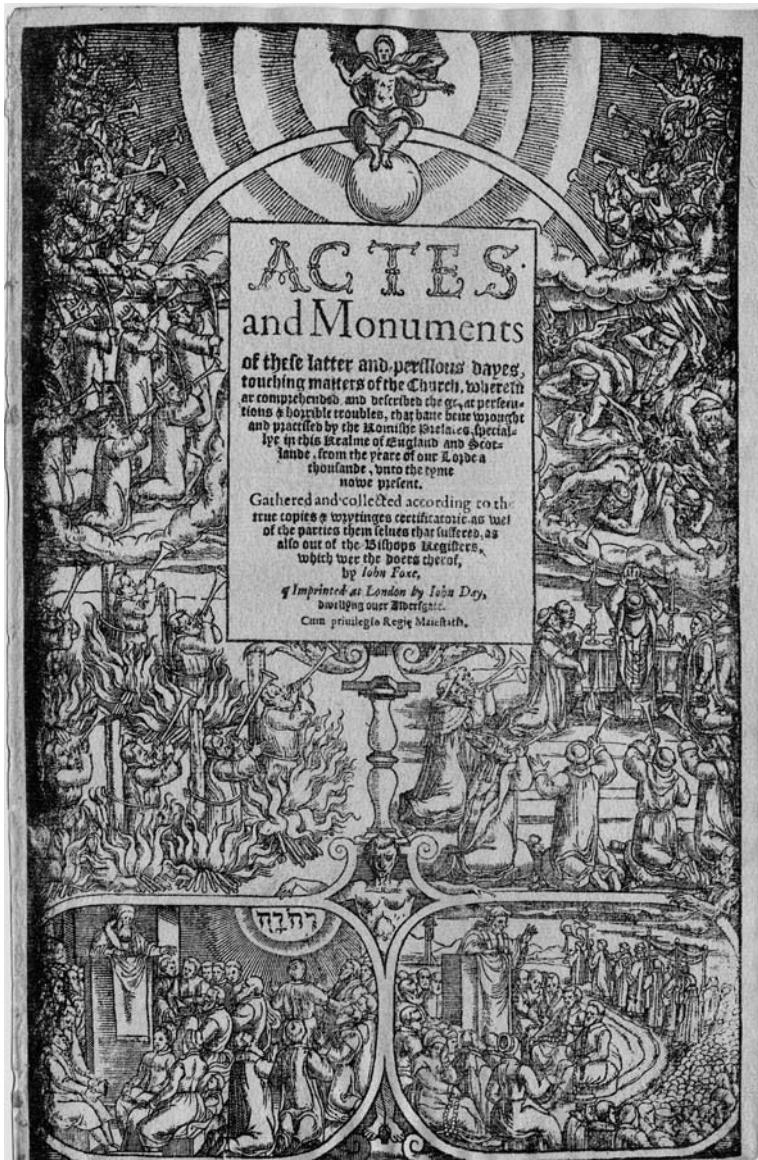
complete constellation of features associated with early modern English print culture, Foxe's book serves as a window into sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English cultural history. Each of the four editions produced during the lifetime of Foxe and his publisher, John Day, contains unique additions and/or deletions of material that render the text of each edition significantly different from the others. Each of the posthumous editions also contains significant additions contributed by different continuators. Furthermore, a variety of abridgments reshaped the text in radically different ways. The impact of this book on worldwide Anglophone culture endures to the present day, albeit in highly distorted forms, in reprints, abridgments, movies, and websites.

The present investigation observes the practice of contemporary booksellers and readers, who referred to the *Book of Martyrs*, a short title that may have originated in a similar headline in the first edition (pp. 85–173, 178–79). The formal title makes up in precision for what it lacks in conciseness and elegance:

Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, unto the tyme nowe present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies & wrytinges certificarie, as wel of the parties them selves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof, by John Foxe.

It was the prerogative of the publisher, John Day, to craft the title page (Figure 2) in the form of an advertisement for this costly book, which went on sale in 1563 at the bookshop beneath the printing house at his premises within London Wall. Not only was his shop located at the edge of the booksellers' district that surrounded St. Paul's Cathedral, but it was also ideally situated to appeal to those who passed through Aldersgate en route to and from London via the Great North Road.² It seems likely that Foxe collaborated in the composition of this detailed descriptive title of the history of the "true" church from the time of John Wyclif until the reign of Mary I. After all, he declares that "I wrote no such booke bearyng the title of the booke of Martyrs. I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes . . . Wherin many other matters bee containned beside the Martyrs of Christ" (1570, p. 694). Foxe's preference for this discursive title furthermore reflects the fact that the unabridged text constitutes much

² For the vicinity of Day's premises, see *Voices*, map 1 and fig. 7.



2. The left- and right-hand sides of the title-page woodcut of the *Book of Martyrs* (1563) respectively portray “true” versus “false” religion. Insets at the bottom offer contrasting caricatures of Protestant versus Roman Catholic worship. The sun-bright Tetragrammaton at the lower left symbolizes divine illumination of a congregation that includes figures who read the Bible as the preacher delivers a sermon. The opposed vignette depicts individuals who tell their rosary beads as a friar preaches and a Corpus Christi procession proceeds toward a roadside shrine. At the apex of this Judgment scene, Christ welcomes the souls of the saved and condemns the falling angels and priests who celebrate the Mass beneath them.

more than a collection of martyrologies. Nevertheless, printers and publishers used the short title in records kept by the Company of Stationers, and the eighth edition (1641) bears the half-title of “THE BOOKE OF MARTYRS.” It was under this half-title, therefore, that stock keepers at the Stationers’ warehouse stored copies of this book after the Company acquired its copyright.

Purchasers encountered this half-title in unbound gatherings displayed at bookshops in the vicinity of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London or in the stalls of provincial booksellers. Purchasers included the parochial library at Gorton in Lancashire, which acquired its copy of the 1641 version out of the proceeds of a bequest from a prosperous merchant of Manchester. Parish officials originally planned to chain it for safekeeping within a wooden book chest whose carved inscription – “THE GIFT OF HUMPHREY CHETHAM ESQUIRE 1655” – commemorates this pious benefaction (Figure 3). A recipient of the ninth edition (1684), the nearby parish library at Bolton-on-the-Moors, chained its copy to the top shelf of a wooden chest whose inscription commemorates a benefaction from a well-to-do Londoner who had some connection to this parish in Lancashire: “THE GIFT OF MR JAMES LEAVER CITISON OF LONDON 1694” (Figure 4). The calfskin binding of each of its three volumes bears a brass plate that proclaims further that Leaver donated it during the same year.³

During the early modern era, donations of the *Book of Martyrs* to parish libraries and other institutions sometimes discharged a memorial function roughly analogous to medieval practices that commemorated the dead. This book sanitizes increasingly dim memories of monastic libraries, however, by excluding allegedly superstitious material. Long after religious reformers demolished shrines and eradicated chantry chapels during the Edwardian Reformation, gifts of books and libraries continued to commemorate the piety of evangelical donors. Prior to the destruction of chantries during the reign of Edward VI (1547–53), mortuary endowments and bequests underwrote the singing of perpetual Masses for the dead. Not only did the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura* (“scripture alone”) entail rejection of purgatory and intercessory prayers, but it also supplanted older modes of commemoration. This shift provided donors with an opportunity to give devotional books as a pious act.⁴ Foxe’s quasi-iconic book accordingly joined the Bible in occupying cultural space left

³ For discussion of these donations and book chests, see Chapter 4.C.

⁴ See Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 281–84.



3. The armarium or wooden book chest from the parish library of Gorton, Lancashire. Carved lettering acknowledges that an endowment by Humphrey Chetham allowed for acquisition of the original library, which included the 1641 edition of the *Book of Martyrs*. Most of the original collection remains tethered with chains.

empty by repeated waves of iconoclasm that swept England between the 1530s and 1650s (see Figures 23 and 29).

The commemorative function of donated copies of the *Book of Martyrs* corresponds to memorialism that is inherent within Foxe's encyclopedic collection of documents concerning the history of western Christendom. We may note the memorial function of books in volumes that are incorporated into the fabric of some funerary monuments, for example the alabaster and marble memorial to Sir Thomas Bodley at Merton College, Oxford. The carving of pillars in the form of stacked books is appropriate to the memory of the librarian who founded the Bodleian Library.⁵ The notion of textual commemoration that informs Foxe's monumental assemblage of *acts* and *monuments* anticipates a sentiment in Sir Francis

⁵ Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), fig. 176.



4. The armarium that contains the chained library from the parish of Bolton-on-the-Moors, Lancashire. A carved inscription and brass plates on each of the three volumes of the eighth edition of the *Book of Martyrs* commemorate the 1694 benefaction of James Leaver, a well-to-do citizen of London.

Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. This book recalls Catholic commemorative practices in its praise of libraries as "shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed."⁶ The enduring remains of martyrs who were denied Christian burial accordingly consist not of bones, fragments of clothing, or instruments of torture, but texts that undergo preservation within a tomblike history. Both the title and construction of Foxe's book involve wordplay on the multiple senses of *monument* as a term for written document, sepulcher, funerary memorial, or enduring marker.⁷ Sonnet 55 by William Shakespeare exemplifies the conventionality of this *topos* of text as monument:

Not marble nor the gilded monuments
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme,
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone besmeared with sluttish time. (lines 1–4)

⁶ As quoted in Jennifer Summit, "Monuments and Ruins: Spenser and the Problem of the English Library," *English Literary History* 70 (2003), p. 4.

⁷ *ERL*, p. 438.

In the particular case of Foxe's collection, martyrological *acts* (in the sense of *acta*, i.e., "deeds" or lives of martyrs) and *monuments* (i.e., written testimonials of faith to the point of death) supplant emphasis on relics and miracles in medieval legends of the saints. Although some reformed martyrologies had already gone into print (e.g., John Bale's editions of the prosecutorial examinations of Sir John Oldcastle and Anne Askew), Foxean martyrologies derive to a very considerable degree from manuscripts written by martyrs as they awaited execution or by copyists, to which the compiler added extracts concerning the prosecution of alleged heretics from documents including the episcopal registers that receive mention on the title page. In manuscript or print, martyrological testimonials function in the manner of verbal, as opposed to corporeal, relics of the saints. Foxe's goal is to preserve the speeches and deeds of "true" martyrs in the form of documents that memorialize the faithful suffering of new-style saints. The book as a whole therefore functions in the manner of a symbolic reliquary that preserves for posterity the deeds and words that constitute the essence of saintly sacrifice.⁸ The idea of text as relic or book as reliquary presupposes a transformation in the conception of saintliness, because Foxe and his Protestant contemporaries eliminated intercession of the saints of the kind celebrated in traditional hagiographies. The compiler therefore contributes to the Reformation campaign to identify sainthood with the early Christian conception of martyrdom as an act of witnessing to religious faith. After all, *martyr* derives from μάρτυς, which means "witness" in Greek. The essence of martyrdom lies in witnessing to religious faith to the point of death.

As an adjunct to saintly acts and monuments, the manifold woodcuts that illustrate the *Book of Martyrs* are fundamentally different from traditional representations of saints who strike iconic poses and carry iconographical attributes that identify them in seemingly countless religious images (e.g., St. Paul bearing the sword of his decollation or the aged figure of St. Peter crowned with a tiara and holding a pair of keys). Inviting the devout gaze of spectators, traditional images of saints often flank donors or devotees who gaze inward from their own naturalistic world on a static scene of saintly activity. This is the case, for example, in an altarpiece that portrays Henry VII and members of his family,

⁸ Thomas Betteridge, *Tudor Histories of the English Reformations, 1530–83* (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 1999), pp. 183–84.

both living and dead. The open prayer books on the prie-dieu at which Henry and Elizabeth of York kneel represent a central component of this representation of traditional piety. An overarching portrayal of St. George defeating the Dragon visualizes the king's prayer for intercession on behalf of himself and his relatives. Nevertheless, it is the painting itself that constituted a royal donation to Sheen, a monastery near Richmond.⁹ With its portrayal of prayer for the dead that is consonant with the doctrine of purgatory, this altarpiece represents a devotional mode quite different from early modern applications of the *Book of Martyrs*. Those who read copies at the ends of chains to which they were tethered at the parish library of Bolton-on-the-Moors, for example, encountered scores of woodcuts that are informed by the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Unlike traditional saints, Foxean martyrs are recognizable people from all walks of life who are invested with neither supernatural powers nor the power of intercession between the human and divine. They range from lowly peasants to learned bishops. Exemplifying the Protestant conviction that divinely imputed faith informs ordinary individuals with a capacity to testify to their beliefs despite pain, suffering, and death, these woodcut portrayals provide visual models worthy of emulation by other believers.

Few if any insular precedents existed for large and expensive illustrated folios of this kind, because the chronic shortage of capital and almost complete absence of domestic paper manufacture militated against the printing of big books by London printers. For example, the native book trade failed to produce Bibles suitable for chaining in churches until the 1540s. A Vulgate Bible published in 1535 by the King's Printer, Thomas Berthelet, is the earliest extant example of a complete Bible printed in England and the sole example of a Latin Bible printed prior to the reign of Elizabeth I.¹⁰ This should come as no surprise, because it was less costly to import Latin books printed on the continent than to produce them in London. Marketability must have been a factor in the printer's decision to employ quarto rather than folio format for this Bible. The same year marked the appearance of the Coverdale Bible, the first complete Bible in the English language, as an unacknowledged publication by Merten de Keyser, one of the most accomplished printers in

⁹ Attributed to Maynard the Walloon (1503–1509). See Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague: Leiden University Press for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1977), pp. 62, 64, and fig. 13.

¹⁰ STC 2055.

Antwerp.¹¹ Although this edition was not officially sanctioned, despite its title-page portrayal of Henry VIII conferring the Bible on bishops and nobles, merchants imported and marketed it without hindrance. De Keyser commissioned woodcuts based on continental models. Under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's vicegerent for religious affairs, Edward Whitchurch and Richard Grafton then undertook to publish the first authorized English translation. Even these partners secured the services of François Regnault because of the superiority of Parisian typography, presswork, and paper. When the Inquisition blocked completion of this printing job, Grafton and Whitchurch shipped the already printed sheets and wooden blocks to London in order to complete the printing of this book and its rather old-fashioned illustrations. Known as the Great Bible (1539) because of its grandiose size, it was acquired by English parish churches under the terms of the Royal Injunctions of 1538.¹² In being chained for reading by members of the public, it anticipates the placement in churches of a handful of books including Erasmus's *Paraphrases of the New Testament*, the *Book of Martyrs*, and John Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*. Among very few contemporary books that approximate Foxe's book in dimensions or density of illustration are the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) and John Day's own edition of an English translation of Euclid's *The Elements of Geometry* (1570). Nevertheless, they cannot rival the unique array of large woodcuts that John Day commissioned as tailor-made illustrations for specific martyrdoms. Woodcuts are absent from the more massive second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, whose costliness necessitated the formation of a partnership among five booksellers.

Thriving continental printing enterprises were better able than those in England to print monumental folios on large subjects that satisfied the early modern hunger for huge compendia of knowledge. Key advantages that foreign printers enjoyed included access to larger markets that were concomitant with greater density of population, availability of capital investment, local manufacture of high-quality paper, superior type founding, and finer woodcut or copperplate illustration. The many publications of Conrad Gesner, a Swiss theologian to whom Foxe and Bale were linked within European humanistic circles, included folios

¹¹ Guido Latré, "The 1535 Coverdale Bible and Its Antwerp Origins," in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O'Sullivan and Ellen N. Herron (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 89–102.

¹² *TRI*, pp. 54–74.

whose monumentality was akin to that of Foxe's book. Indeed, this physician and naturalist contributed a Latin epitaph on John Hooper to a Latin precursor of the *Book of Martyrs* that Foxe compiled during exile in Basel.¹³ Christopher Froschauer, the eminent Zurich printer, produced encyclopedic books constructed by Gesner including the four folio volumes of *Historia animalium* (1551–58), which are filled with excellent, albeit frequently inaccurate, engravings. His *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545) contains a summation of all knowledge in the nascent field of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew bibliography. In a two-part sequel entitled *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium, libri XXI* (1548–49), this polymath constructed an encyclopedia of universal knowledge divided into multiple books.

For even more instructive points of comparison and contrast to the *Book of Martyrs*, we may move back in time to *Liber cronicarum* (1493), which is best known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Hartmann Schedel compiled this geographical history of the six ages of the world from creation to the 1490s. Like Conrad Gesner, he was a learned physician. In the manner of many other incunabula, this book was printed by a goldsmith, Anton Koberger, who belonged to the same trade as Johannes Gutenberg and many other early printers. Koberger possessed the skill in metalworking and the capital requisite to cast type and establish his own enterprise to manufacture paper. Because entrepreneurs' ability to integrate different stages in the production of books became increasingly uncommon as these tasks became more specialized, John Day's ability to control type founding, printing, publication, warehousing, and retailing represents a throwback to an earlier era. Nevertheless, his operation of four or five printing presses, a very large number according to the standards of the late sixteenth-century London printing trade, could not rival the twenty-four presses owned by Koberger. Papermaking lay beyond Day's scope, furthermore, because of England's dependence on imported stock. Koberger's use of oversize paper in conjunction with profuse illustration and a much lower per-folio word count than the *Book of Martyrs* made the *Nuremberg Chronicle* distinctively a luxury item. Unlike the employment of humanistic typefaces (i.e., italic and roman founts) in the spacious typography of Gesner's books, the use of black letter in both the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and *Book of Martyrs* produces a densely packed

¹³ *Rerum*, p. 305. Foxe carries this poem over into *AcM* (1563), p. 1064. It may be that Gesner had access to a manuscript account of Hooper's death.

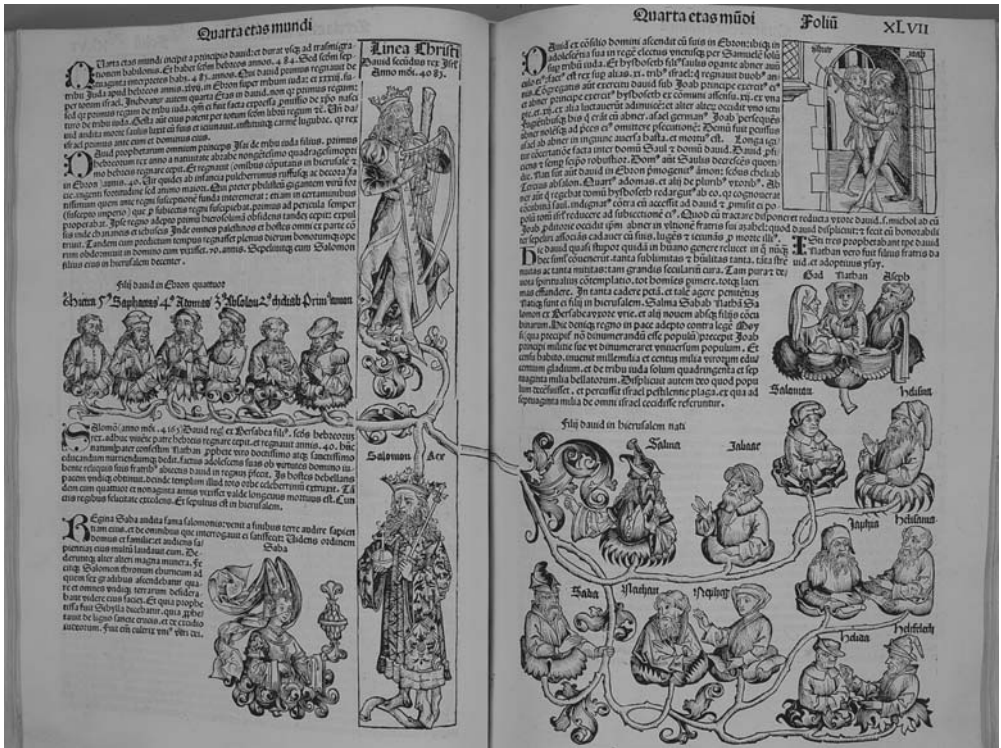
text block with little white space (see Figure 16). The best-illustrated book of its era, Koberger's book contains 1,809 impressions made from 645 wooden blocks designed by Michael Wolgemut and William Pleydenwurff, and possibly their apprentice, Albrecht Dürer.¹⁴ Containing many full-page and two-page illustrations in addition to the smaller pictures that fill the margins at the left- and right-hand sides of pages, woodcuts dominate this book in a manner very different from their more selective use in the *Book of Martyrs* (Figure 5). Although it was well illustrated by English standards, Day made this book more affordable by commissioning fewer than 150 wooden blocks, using illustration more sparingly, and frequently reusing a small number of generic cuts. Many of the same kinds of illustration appear in both books: page-wide pictures, genealogies, maps, and portraits of kings, popes, clerics, and other individuals. Even though Koberger's illustrations include iconographical images of saints and martyrs, however, they lack the distinctive martyrological focus and historically accurate content of Day's woodcuts.¹⁵ Moreover, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* contains cosmological diagrams, images of the Trinity, religious scenes, and pictures of events in the life of Christ, which are absent from the *Book of Martyrs*. Cityscapes appear frequently in both books, but Koberger employs them for their own sake as sometimes fanciful views of major cities in Europe and around the world, whereas Day's woodcuts incorporate them as backdrops for sites of execution.

Exploration of the material production of what we might best think of as Foxe's *Books of Martyrs*¹⁶ affords a foundation for this project, but I join other scholars in going beyond the "new bibliography" whereby R. B. McKerrow, W. W. Greg, and their contemporaries transformed traditional historical bibliography during the earlier part of the twentieth century. Our inquiry into the artifactuality of books resonates with Greg's definition of bibliography as "the study of books as material objects," but the present investigation does not assume the validity of what may now appear to be a quixotic editorial quest to establish an "Ur" text that

¹⁴ A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), no. 44; and Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 176.

¹⁵ Series of martyrological woodcuts appear in other books such as the *Catalogus sanctorum* (Venice, 1506) of Pietro de Natali and editions of the *Golden Legend* published by William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde (see Chapter 3).

¹⁶ See Jesse Lander, "Foxe's' *Books of Martyrs*: Printing and Popularizing the *Acts and Monuments*," in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 69–92.



5. This elaborate woodcut portrays the genealogy of Jesus Christ, which is also known as the Tree of Jesse after the progenitor of the House of David. It is a distinctive feature of monarchical iconography. *Liber cronicarum*, or the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Nuremberg, 1493), fols. 46^v–47^r.

embodied the original intentions of the author.¹⁷ By scrutinizing social practices linked to early modern editing, printing, and reading, this project contributes to the rapidly evolving discipline of a *newer* bibliography – the History of the Book – as a vital, albeit heterogeneous, discipline during the last quarter of a century.¹⁸ In so doing, this study moves beyond consideration of books as material objects to address broad issues concerning literary, political, religious, and cultural history. Heeding D. F. McKenzie’s seminal call for study of the “sociology of texts,”

¹⁷ W. W. Greg, “The Present Position of Bibliography,” *The Library* 11 (1930), p. 250. See also Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

¹⁸ See Cyndia S. Clegg, “History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline?” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), pp. 221–45.

this study investigates manifold forms of textuality and “the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception,” with particular emphasis on how material “forms effect meaning.”¹⁹ Placing a very different emphasis than Greg on the materiality of the book, McKenzie notes that “every book tells a story quite apart from that recounted by its text.” Indeed, all books are collaborative endeavors that result from “social acts involving the complex interventions of human agency acting on material forms.”²⁰ By investigating the impact on readers of material elements such as book format, layout, and typography, we may understand how the physical makeup of edition after edition of the *Book of Martyrs* is inseparable from the reception of their shifting textual contents. Scrutiny of the hierarchy of literacy, reading practices, reception of the woodcuts, and traces of reader response on the pages of this book allows for the framing of questions concerning the relationship between the physical embodiment of an exemplary book and both its intellectual content and readerly reception in relation to literature, religion, history, and art.

This book also profits from the ideas of students of the History of the Book, such as Roger Chartier, whose findings are infused by the methods of *Annales* historiography. Inquiring into the nature of reading, he observes that a diversity of actual reading responses frustrated the efforts of authors and publisher to control reception via paratext. Neither the intentions of authors nor the perceptions of readers are unimpeded in their operation, however, because alterations in the material form of texts during the process of publication govern transformations of meaning.²¹ Of particular importance is Robert Darnton's heuristic model for this yet-emerging field, one that is more thoroughly historicized and complex than the triad that Chartier constructs. Bringing to bear a convergence of multidisciplinary interests (literary studies, sociology, bibliography, library science, history, and so forth) on the transmission of ideas, Darnton posits the existence of a “communications circuit” that interlinks the interests of the author (or compiler in Foxe's case) to those of the

¹⁹ “The Book as an Expressive Form,” in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986), pp. 1–21, citing pp. 4–5. See also his “Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve,” in *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1981), pp. 81–125.

²⁰ “What's Past is Prologue”: *The Bibliographical Society and the History of the Book* (London: Heatherstone Publications and the Bibliographical Society, 1993), p. 8.

²¹ “Texts, Printing, Readings,” in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154–58, 163.

publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller, and reader, whose expectations return us once more to the author or compiler. Darnton is alert to ways in which a variety of intellectual, political, economic, and social influences impinge on this circuit.²²

The tension between the two titles of Foxe's collection – *Acts and Monuments* versus the *Book of Martyrs* – exemplifies the operation of the communications circuit. Foxe and Day were unable to control the reception of this book after they had collaborated on seeing it through the press. As a learned corrector and habitué of Day's establishment at Aldersgate, Foxe may have soiled his hands with printer's ink as he prepared copy for typesetting by compositors and printing by pressmen, whom he bedeviled by adding fresh documentation as the book was passing through the different stages in the printing process.²³ Unlike the majority of printers and booksellers who belonged to the Company of Stationers, Day succeeded at integrating the stages of printing, publishing, warehousing, wholesaling, and retailing his imprints. In all likelihood, other booksellers joined in the marketing of this book. Although Foxe and his associates attempted to exercise a high degree of editorial control over the reception of this book, readers over the centuries have interpreted its texts in widely divergent ways. Generations of purchasers, donors, librarians, abridgers, readers, and hearers have joined commentators and abridgers in shaping and reshaping different versions of this book into divergent forms both large and small.

This study begins with an investigation of the construction of the *Book of Martyrs* by John Foxe and those associates with whom he collaborated in the gathering of material. The [first chapter](#) takes issue with mistaken claims that Foxe was the author of this book and that he "plagiarized" from earlier chronicles. Instead it demonstrates that we may best think of Foxe as an "author-compiler" in the manner of both John Bale and Raphael Holinshed, whose *Chronicles* represented a collaborative endeavor to which a group of antiquarians, politicians, clerics, printers, and booksellers contributed. Because of the collegial nature of the construction of the *Book of Martyrs* out of a wide array of printed and manuscript sources, this study will employ the term "Foxe" to denote both him and the network of individuals who worked with him, who included his publisher,

²² "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), pp. 65–83.

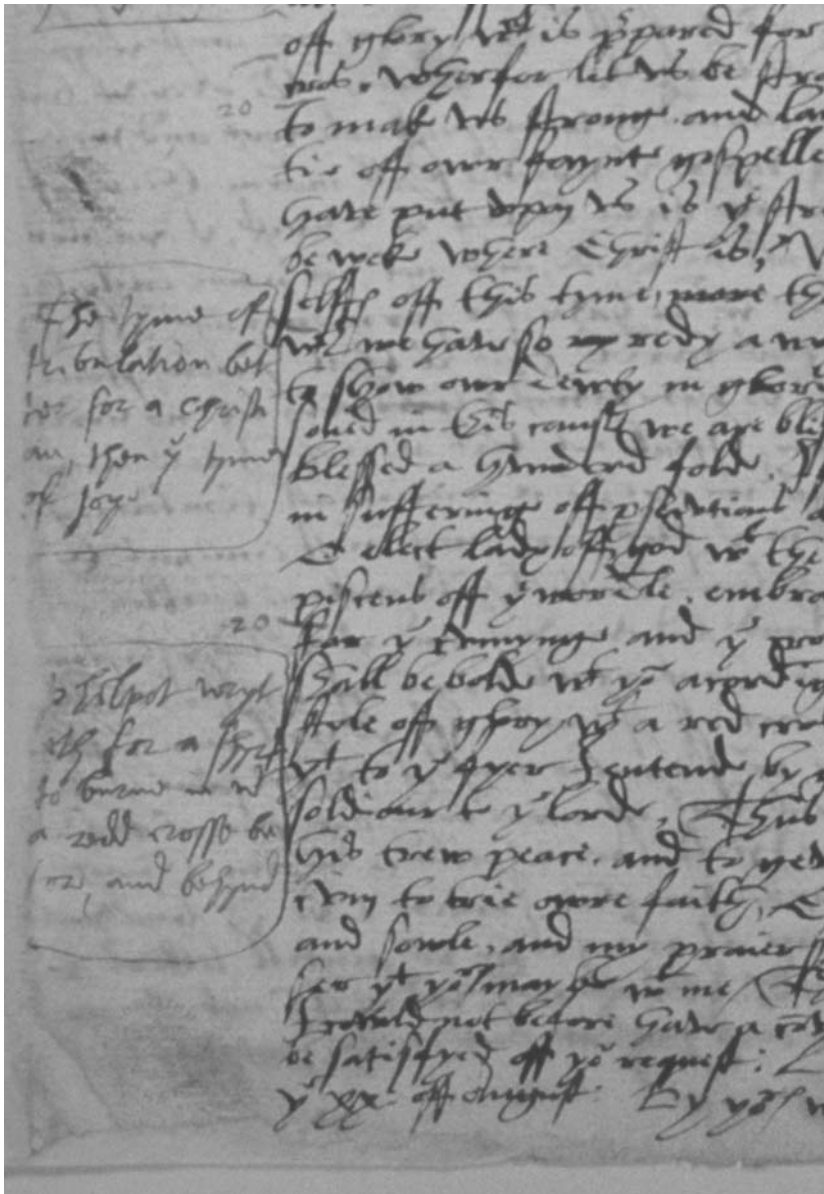
²³ On the idea that authors and compilers would spend time in the printing house in order to help ensure the accuracy of their books, see David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 119–20.

like-minded scholars, and a variety of reporters, agents, and amanuenses.²⁴ This collection stood in an antithetical relationship to the *Legenda Aurea*, which William Caxton translated and expanded as *The Golden Legend*. Attacking this collection as a *summa* of fraudulent saints' lives, Foxe looked instead to Eusebius's *Ecclesiastica historia* as the preeminent model for ecclesiastical history. His work also drew from contemporary Protestant historiography including John Bale's reading of Revelation as a prophecy of conflict between "true" and "false" churches, the encyclopedic *Magdeburg Centuries* compiled by Matthias Flacius and his associates, and martyrological histories compiled in Latin, French, German, and Dutch. In collaboration with Henry Bull, in particular, Foxe gathered manuscript witnesses inscribed by many different hands. Their edition of a valuable trove of autograph letters by Marian martyrs sheds light on how manuscript and print circulation coexisted during the early modern era (see Figure 6). Among the most memorable narratives are those written by individual martyrs who were under duress or by friends and relations who witnessed their imprisonment or execution. Vestiges of manuscript circulation that are evident in individual narratives attest to how the production and reading of texts in both manuscript and print coexisted during the early modern era.²⁵ This chapter closes with a consideration of how Foxe, in addition to abridging and editing, relied on the addition of marginal glosses and commentaries in order to create highly charged rhetorical effects.

Moving to the second stage in the communications circuit, Chapter 2 considers Foxe's unusually close association with printers, publishers, and the printing trade. After making his debut as a publicist during the heyday of the Edwardian, Foxe went into exile following the succession of the king's Roman Catholic half-sister, Mary I, whose persecution of Protestants included burning them alive as heretics. After securing publication of the early Latin versions of his martyrological history, Foxe returned to England following the accession of Elizabeth I (1558–1603). He then forged an association with John Day, who served not only as publisher, but also as a patron of sorts for the four ever-expanding editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. In addition to considering printing techniques and conventions that shaped the compilation, production, and reception of this book, this chapter scrutinizes how Day marketed Foxe's history for a socially and intellectually stratified readership. Focusing on the culturally

²⁴ See Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe and National Consciousness," in *JFHW*, pp. 13–14.

²⁵ See McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 31–40.



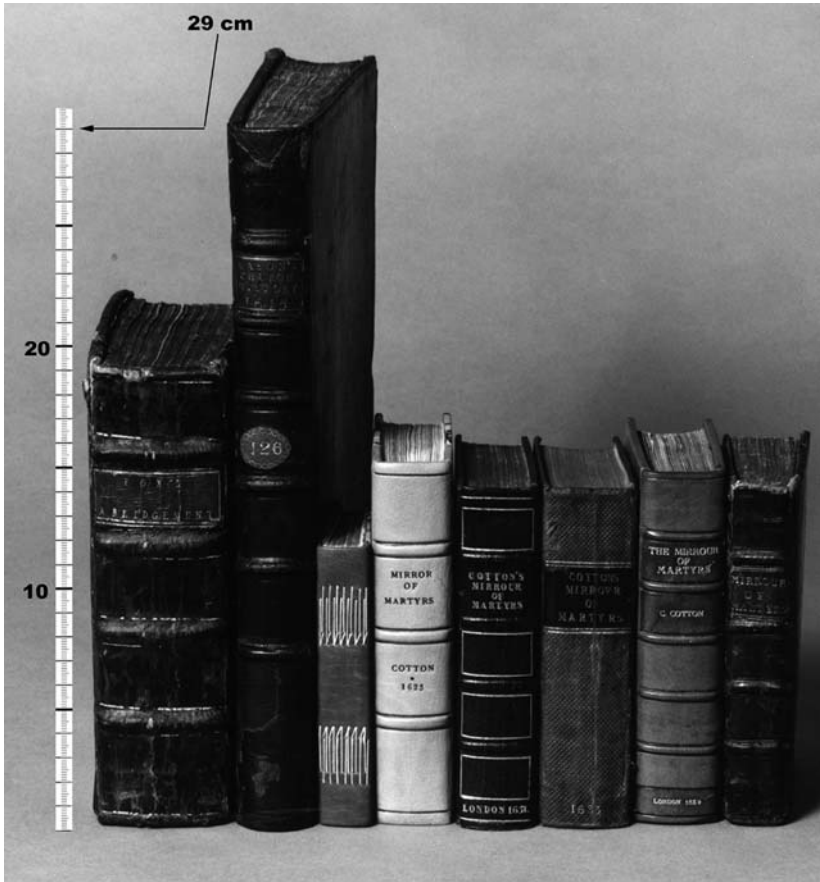
6. Letter of 20 August 1555 from John Philpot to Lady Elizabeth Vane (or Fane). From a collection of autograph letters of reformers and martyrs (1536–69), BL MS Additional 19,400, fol. 50^v (detail).

productive power of books and their use in different social spheres, this investigation is less concerned with technical issues concerning capitalization and acquisition of paper stock, for example, than with the epistemological and cultural importance of layout and paratext for the reception of this book by early readers. It therefore addresses how Day joined Foxe in hybridizing different printing conventions in order to cater to readers at different levels in the hierarchy of literacy within a single book. This chapter also considers the history of the early modern editions published following the death of Day and Foxe. Ever-growing expansions that recorded more recent historical events enabled each edition to reflect its historical moment. Investigation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century abridgments sheds further light on how large- and small-format versions of this book catered to different categories of readers in varied social classes (see Figures 1 and 7).

Chapter 3 examines both the technical nature and the iconography of scores of woodcuts that made the *Book of Martyrs* the best-illustrated English book of its time. The argument corrects the common view that Foxe exercised control over the woodcuts by showing how John Day, printer of the finest illustrated books produced during the first century of English printing, commissioned woodcuts that observe his distinctive house style. He collaborated with Foxe in reshaping traditional iconography of the saints within a coherent pattern of illustration. Despite their commitment to print culture, these collaborators were in touch with the ongoing culture of images.²⁶ Consideration of how they integrated image with text poses questions concerning how looking may become a form of “reading.” Concluding with an investigation of how individual readers responded to the woodcuts, this chapter is based on a survey of previously unrecorded early modern inscriptions on an extensive array of woodcuts in a large number of copies. Not only did early readers enter handwritten annotations concerning the illustrations, they inscribed pious words attributed to dying martyrs within empty banderoles (i.e., banner-like streamers that contain words). Many of these speeches incorporate martyrological formulae drawn from the Bible.

In considering the importance of the *Book of Martyrs* within the social history of reading, the final chapter begins by considering multiple prefaces in which Foxe supplied guidelines for readers at different levels of the literacy hierarchy, which ranged from “unlearned” readers of the

²⁶ Ibid., ch. 3, *passim*.



7. Selected abridgements of the *Book of Martyrs*: Timothy Bright's *An Abridgement of the Book of Acts and Monuments of the Church* (1589) in quarto format; Mason's *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny*; Clement Cotton's *The Mirror of Martyrs*, first edition, and third through seventh editions (1615–85) in duodecimo. See Figure 1 for smaller-scale reproductions of the second and third books.

vernacular to learned readers with a grasp of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or even Old English (i.e., from *illiterati* to *literati*). Investigation of the outraged response of Roman Catholic readers focuses on the fierce controversy concerning Foxe's iconoclastic attack on medieval lives of the saints, including those gathered in the *Legenda aurea*, and whether he and/or Day incorporated a Protestant martyrological calendar merely as a reading guide to the two early editions in which it appears (see Figure 49). Study of provenance and book inventories gives insight into reading practices, book collecting, and librarianship. Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of how early modern readers understood

and applied their reading in relation to different historical moments across the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This section considers printed books, manuscript extracts in commonplace books and diaries, and previously unrecorded inscriptions entered by hand in many copies of the *Book of Martyrs*. Evidence of this kind throws light on the sociable reception of individuals who engaged in communal reading *and hearing* of private copies or copies chained in public places (e.g., guild-halls and churches) and on the more solitary habits of Latin-literate scholars, clerics, and well-to-do individuals who read or heard readings from the costly folio volumes in libraries, cathedrals, or private homes. Finally, there is a glossary of technical printing terms in use during the era of the hand-operated press.

1 | The compilation of the book

In the course of situating early modern English historical writing within the study of the History of the Book, D. R. Woolf reaches the following conclusion concerning the *Book of Martyrs*: “Few works were as lavish as the 1570 and 1583 editions of Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, a work the author of which had himself ruthlessly pillaged the medieval chronicles for tales of martyrdom and persecution.”¹ As beguiling as this colorful view may seem, it reflects widespread misunderstandings concerning the construction of this monumental book. In the face of compelling evidence that Foxe functioned in the manner of an *auctor* or *compiler*, who accumulated an extraordinary aggregation of disparate documents that he set forth in annals fashion, Woolf subscribes to the stubborn misconception that he was the magisterial author of this massive history. In reinscribing an older outlook that privileges the centrality of the author in the construction of books,² Woolf overlooks the contribution made by collaborators, correspondents, reporters, and transcribers of eye-witness reports in the *Book of Martyrs*. He disregards evidence that Foxe assembled material from manuscripts and printed books written by many different individuals. In charging that Foxe engaged in unscrupulous borrowing from older sources, Woolf applies an anachronistic standard of plagiarism to the early modern era. In actual fact, Foxe cites authorities in glosses that function as precursors to modern footnotes.

Foxe’s handling of his sources has received more attention than other aspects in the study of the *Book of Martyrs*. By creating antipapal fabrications of all kinds, in the view of Robert Parsons (or Persons), the martyrologist

¹ D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 42.

² Studies that postulate the widespread single-author model for the construction of *A&M* include Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 43; and James A. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 130. For a critique of this position, see Thomas Freeman, “Texts, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs,’” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999), pp. 35, 40, et passim.

constructed a book that is “the falsest in substance, without perhaps, that ever was published in any tounge.”³ Building on charges originally lodged by Nicholas Harpsfield, this Jesuit controversialist furthered a negative critical tradition that has endured from the Elizabethan era until the present day among readers sympathetic to Roman Catholicism (see Chapter 4.B). A more sympathetic observer notes that “Foxe did not generally invent, or even embellish this material; instead he abridged or edited it, suppressing or deleting what did not suit his purposes.”⁴ In the outstanding example of Whiggish historiography, which posits the inevitable “triumph” of a coherent program of Protestant reform imposed from above, A. G. Dickens rightly notes that “it cannot sanely be maintained that Foxe fabricated this mass of detailed and circumstantial information about early Tudor Lollardry.”⁵ Demonstrating less anxiety concerning historical truthfulness, historians who are open to literary theory in a manner pioneered by Hayden White⁶ have accepted Foxe's emendation of documents for propagandistic purposes and his intermingling of verifiable, albeit highly partisan, accounts of religious persecution with invented fictions about miraculous interventions of divine providence as distinctive aspects of his humanistic historiographical method. At the same time, “nobody any longer accuses Foxe of gross manipulation, still less of the fraudulent forging of his evidence of which he stood accused by his nineteenth-century critics.”⁷ Revisionist historians critical of Whiggish historiography have maintained an embarrassing silence concerning the looming contribution of the *Book of Martyrs* to the history of the English Reformation.⁸

³ N. D. [i.e., Robert Parsons], *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganism to Christian Religion* (St. Omer, 1603–1604), 1.299. See Glyn Parry, “John Foxe, ‘Father of Lyes’, and the Papists,” in *JFER*, pp. 295–305.

⁴ Freeman, “Texts, Lies, and Microfilm,” p. 40. This view supersedes Mozley's claim that Foxe's “standard of honesty in quoting his authorities is a high one” (p. 167). I am indebted throughout this chapter to Freeman's “John Foxe: A Biography,” in *A&M* (online).

⁵ *The English Reformation* (London: Collins, 1967), p. 46.

⁶ See “The Historical Text as Literary Artifact,” in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 81–100.

⁷ Patrick Collinson, “Truth, Lies, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century Protestant Historiography,” in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 37–68, citing p. 49; and “Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs,” in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 151–77. See also John N. King, “Fiction and Fact in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*,” in *JFER*, pp. 12–35.

⁸ E.g., Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Each of the four editions overseen by Foxe and his publisher, John Day, consists not of a single ever-expanding book, but of four distinctive constructions that respond to Roman Catholic criticism and the shifting religio-political milieu of the reign of Elizabeth I.⁹ The 1563 version, in particular, draws heavily upon translation of material that Foxe had compiled for Latin precursors published in 1554 and 1559. In moving beyond the disputable authorial model that governed earlier textual studies, the present study joins in the current investigation of Foxe's collaboration with a variety of editors and contributors including Henry Bull, John Bale, Edmund Grindal, and many others.¹⁰ This chapter considers how Foxe's book conforms to late medieval and early modern habits of compiling annalistic history by assimilating a multitude of documents that circulated within the thriving world of manuscript publication. Traces of manuscripts written by many different hands contradict the single-author model for the construction of this collection.¹¹ The present inquiry devotes considerable attention to the exploitation of marginal glosses by Foxe and collaborators such as Henry Bull as powerful devices for shaping texts and inviting responses from readers.

A. "John Foxe, author"

Only in the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs* did an authorial claim appear on the title of a collection "Newly recognised and enlarged by the Author John Foxe." It remained in place in later editions, including those published after the lifetime of Foxe and Day. Nevertheless, we may best think of Foxe as an "author-compiler" in the manner of Raphael Holinshed.¹² Foxe subscribes to a conception of authorship related to that of his close associate, John Bale, the title page of whose *Summarium* designates him as "Autore Joanne Balaeo Sudovolca." Bale's status as an author born in Suffolk forms a distinctive component in the identity of the bookman responsible for publishing the first inclusive bibliography of

⁹ Thomas Betteridge, "From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History," in *JFER*, pp. 210–32; and his *Tudor Histories*, ch. 4.

¹⁰ I build on and extend findings presented in Thomas Freeman's series of articles concerning Foxe and his sources.

¹¹ See John N. King, "'The Light of Printing': William Tyndale, John Foxe, John Day, and Early Modern Print Culture," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), pp. 52–85, citing pp. 56–64.

¹² Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 120.

British writers, which he wrote in Latin for the sake of a well-educated readership at home and abroad. In a similar way, the title pages of *Commentarii* and *Rerum*, which Foxe published in exile during the reign of Mary I, boldly announce his nationality as an English writer: "Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo." Their conception of authorship corresponds not to origination, but rather to compilation or collection in the manner of an editor who gathers material from many disparate sources. The title pages of Bale's scriptural plays accordingly proclaim that they were "compiled by Johan Bale."¹³ Although the derivation of *compilator* ("compiler") from *compilare* ("to pillage or plunder") reflects early denigration of Virgil's imitation of Homer, by the Middle Ages these terms referred to the construction of collections that were considered legitimate in their own right. D. R. Woolf's disapproval of Foxe's activity as a compiler accordingly adheres to an anachronistic conception of textual borrowing. Bale and Foxe acted in conformity with the contemporary historiographical practices of incremental accumulation and assimilation of the work of predecessors. During an age that defined rhetorical invention in terms of the mastery of traditional commonplaces, "compilation" was a respectable activity. Indeed, it accords with Foxe's own publication of a ready-made commonplace book that contains systematic headings, but whose otherwise blank pages are ready for filling in by diligent readers.¹⁴

During the late medieval and early modern eras, "compilation" entailed a conception of "authorship" derived from its Latin root, *augere* ("to increase, augment"). An *auctor* or "author" is therefore "one who gives increase" in the sense of contributing to an aggregation of documents. In accordance with this etymology, the term "author" connotes trustworthiness in the manner of its cognate, "authority," which refers to both a reliable source (e.g., a patristic commentary) and the respect that such a text commands. It is in this sense that Foxe augments the 1570 *Book of Martyrs* with a table entitled "The Names of the Authors Alleged in this Booke, besides many and sondry other Authors whose names are unknown, and also besides divers Recordes of Parlament, and also other matters found out in Registers of sondry Byshops of this Realme" (¶1^v). In addition to a few poets such as Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer, this list enumerates classical, patristic, medieval, and contemporary authorities whose texts provide the raw material for Foxe's activity as a *compilator*.

¹³ See STC 1279, 1287.

¹⁴ John Foxe, *Pandectae locorum communium, praecipua rerum capita & titulos . . . complectens* (London: John Day, 1572).

Invoking the prior authority of preexisting texts that he assimilates into his martyrological history, Foxe collaborates with John Day in distinguishing between his contributions and derivations from sources by means of shifts in typefaces and founts (see Chapter 2.C.1–4). Marginal notes contain citations to sources. Foxe does not claim authorship in the modern sense of this term, but he and John Day do claim authority for this propagandistic book.

B. A network of collaborators

Even though title pages of different editions of the *Book of Martyrs* vest textual authority in Foxe, we have long known that he did not construct its different versions single-handedly. During employment as a corrector in the printing house of Johannes Oporinus, the Basel publisher, he received manuscripts concerning the prosecution and execution of English martyrs via Edmund Grindal, a fellow exile who had served as a chaplain of Edward VI (1547–53). Presiding over the influx of manuscripts from England to his residences at Strasbourg and Frankfurt, Grindal originally envisioned separate publication of martyrological documents edited by different exiles including Miles Coverdale.¹⁵ These materials included an abbreviated form of disputations that Hugh Latimer, the spiritual father of many members of the first generation of English Protestant clergy and of aristocratic women, and Nicholas Ridley, the Edwardian Bishop of London, had recorded from memory during imprisonment in Oxford. The *Book of Martyrs* accordingly incorporates a letter from Ridley to Grindal in which the prisoner marvels over the delivery of his manuscripts: “As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wo[n]der how ever they did and could finde the way to come to you.” Indeed, he doubts whether his colleague has received the correct version of his disputations in Oxford: “I can not thinke ye have it truly” (1570, p. 1901). Ridley also responded to a query concerning the publication of an English version of his treatise against transubstantiation and the Mass. Originally published at Emden in East Frisia, it was reprinted in Strasbourg in a book entitled

¹⁵ Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979), pp. 80–82; Susan Wabuda, “Henry Bull, Miles Coverdale, and the Making of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*,” in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1993), p. 246.

Certain Godly, Learned, and Comfortable Conferences Between . . . Nicholas Ridley . . . and Master Hugh Latimer (1556).

In a letter dated 18 June 1557, Grindal indicated that he and his fellow exiles were engaged in gathering martyrological manuscripts into a collection designed for publication in the English language. Because this collection was unfinished, he urged Foxe to proceed with the publication of his Latin collection. Grindal's side of this martyrological project never came to fruition, but it fed into the eventual publication of the *Book of Martyrs*.¹⁶ In addition to receiving manuscripts via Grindal, Foxe possessed transcriptions of the heresy examinations of John Philpot, former Archdeacon of Winchester Cathedral, and John Bradford, onetime chaplain to Ridley. Foxe arranged for the publication in Basel of his translation of Philpot's examinations into Latin. Although this book is no longer extant, it seems likely that it is the same translation that Foxe incorporated in *Commentarii*, in addition to translations of the other documents.

In compiling this book, Foxe received assistance from John Aylmer, who, like Grindal, had moved within the orbit of the court of Edward VI. These associates were to rise high in the establishment of the Elizabethan Church of England through their respective appointments as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. Having gone into exile first in Strasbourg and then in Zurich, this onetime tutor of Lady Jane Grey supplied Foxe with a printed copy of *An Epistle of the Lady Jane a Right Virtuous Woman to a Learned Man of Late Fallen from the Truth of God's Most Holy Word* (1554).¹⁷ This fugitive publication may have been an imprint from a press that John Day operated surreptitiously during the reign of Mary (see Chapter 2.B). It may be that Aylmer supplemented this printed book with material in manuscript.¹⁸

Foxe's stitching together of manuscript and printed sources provided by Aylmer and others exemplifies how he went about compiling entries. In compiling the version of the writings and last words of Lady Jane Grey found in *Rerum*, he adds material absent from the printed source: her life history, some speeches in her colloquy with John Feckenham, and a portion of her final words prior to execution. Furthermore, Foxe acknowledges the exilic circumstances of the continental publication by adding

¹⁶ Mozley, pp. 120–22.

¹⁷ Dale Hoak, "A Tudor Deborah? The Coronation of Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the Problem of Female Rule," in *JFHW*, p. 75.

¹⁸ William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), pp. 71–72.

Latin epitaphs composed in her honor by himself and members of his humanistic circle, which included Laurence Humphrey and John Parkhurst (pp. 232–38). In addition to adding a vernacular translation of this Latin text into the *Book of Martyrs*, the editor adds a prayer and portions of her letter “to a learned man.” It is noteworthy that Foxe acknowledges that he knows the name of this scholar, whom Lady Jane reproaches for apostasy, but declines to identify him in print out of respect for his learning and in hope of regeneration. Two manuscripts identify him as John Harding, whom Foxe honored elsewhere with an amicable dedication – “Eximio theologo Joa[nnes] Hardingo” (“To the distinguished theologian, John Harding”) – in *Syllogisticon hoc est: Argumenta . . . de re & materia Sacramenti Eucharistici. Cum epistola ad Papistas hor[ta]toria* (1563?).¹⁹

Research conducted in recent years has reconstructed Henry Bull’s contribution to the project of gathering documents that found their way into the *Book of Martyrs*. Having joined Foxe as a student and fellow at Magdalen College (then known as Magdalen Hall) during the 1530s and 1540s, this physician and divine collected *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of Such True Saints and Holy Martyrs of God, as in the Late Bloody Persecution . . . Gave Their Lives* (1564).²⁰ Although this edition has been ascribed to Miles Coverdale, Bull is the one who constructed it as a companion of sorts to the *Book of Martyrs*. The aged Coverdale, who wielded great authority as a spiritual leader within the nascent Puritan movement, contributed the preliminary epistle “unto the Christian Reader.” Bull focused largely on gathering letters by eminent clerics including Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, John Hooper, Rowland Taylor, Laurence Saunders, and John Bradford. These correspondents relied on letters as a means of continuing their ministry from behind prison walls. Bradford, in particular, wrote letters of pastoral instruction to women who were at risk of recantation or suffered from religious melancholia because of their fears concerning damnation. This collection calls our attention to the notable role of John Careless, a Coventry weaver who served fellow prisoners as an amanuensis at the center of a network of manuscript publication.

Scholars have long known of the preservation at the British Library of many volumes of papers that once belonged to Foxe,²¹ but identification

¹⁹ 1563, pp. 919–20. See *ERL*, p. 420.

²⁰ Hereafter cited as *Comfortable Letters*.

²¹ BL, MSS Harley 416–26, 590; MSS Lansdowne 335, 388–89, 819, 1045.

of his collaboration with Bull in editing a large cache of letters written in the hands of martyrs or contemporary copyists represents a new development.²² In addition to inscribing copious instructions to compositors on these papers, Foxe and/or Bull engaged in systematic emendation of material that they considered to be inappropriate or offensive. It may be that they collaborated during visits to John Day's printing house. If we compare the 1563 and 1570 versions of the *Book of Martyrs* with *Comfortable Letters*, "we discover that Foxe and Bull shared the documents, discussed what they intended to print, and relied on each other's printed versions of the prisoners' letters." Indeed, marginal glosses in the latter volume demonstrate that Foxe "was discussing with Bull (or Coverdale) what he planned to put in the next edition of the *Acts and Monuments*." Not only did Bull add and delete material during the course of preparing letters for the printing press, but he frequently revised the original wording. Many of these changes carried over into Foxe's martyrology. By deleting overly personal information, these collaborators universalized these missives as testimonials of religious faith. In line with their predestinarian convictions, they suppressed evidence that Protestant prisoners were embroiled in controversy concerning free will and other theological disputes.²³ In order to eradicate even a hint of impropriety, the editors excised loving language in correspondence between men jailed for heresy and women who sustained them from outside prison walls, to whom these prisoners were not married. For example, they omitted affectionate declarations in correspondence between John Philpot and Lady Elizabeth Vane (or Fane) that suggest that their relationship may have involved more than spiritual love.²⁴

Unlike Catholic opponents, who went into print with a frontal attack on the veracity of the *Book of Martyrs* (see Chapter 4.B), sympathetic readers went into the field in order to gather material and check documents for accuracy and correct errors. Foxe's designation of a Suffolkman named

²² ECL MSS 260–262. BL MS Add. 19,400 contains papers that originally were part of this collection.

²³ Wabuda, "Henry Bull," pp. 255–56. See Thomas Freeman, "Publish and Perish: The Scribal Culture of the Marian Martyrs," in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 235–54; and "Dis-senters from a Dissenting Church: The Challenge of the Freewillers, 1550–1558," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 129–56.

²⁴ Thomas Freeman, "'The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women': The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs," *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000), pp. 8–33, citing pp. 24–26.

John Cooper as a martyr affords considerable insight into his editorial methods. His conviction for treason, which led to hanging, drawing, and quartering, may have hinged on perjured testimony concerning his alleged utterance of treasonous words. A neighbor in the village of Wattisham, William Fenning, had accused him of exclaiming “how he should pray, that if God would not take away Queene Mary, that then he should wish the diuel to take her away.” Not only does Foxe insert a miraculous story concerning divine judgment on Watsam Grimwood, who died suddenly when his “bowelles fel out of hys body” because he had delivered perjured testimony against this victim, but he also notes that Fenning, “who was the procurer of thys tyranny agaynst hym [i.e., Cooper], I heare is yet alyve, and is now a minister, which if he be, I praye God he maye so repente that fact, that he may declare him hereafter such one as may wel answer” in accordance with his vocation.²⁵

In an effort to corroborate the facts of this episode, Foxe charged William Punt to represent him in Ipswich in order to investigate this report soon after its publication. During his career as an Edwardian activist, Punt had composed an anti-transubstantiation satire entitled *A New Dialogue Called the Indictment Against Mother Mass* (1548). After the accession of Mary I, a priest attested that Punt had spread heretical doctrine in company with two other residents of Colchester, all of whom were “preachers in kinge Edwardes daies” (1563, p. 1606). Not only did Punt serve as a bearer of correspondence among prisoners who were awaiting execution for heresy (1570, p. 1898), he also received a missive from John Bradford that bears this conclusion “Out of the Tower by the Lordes prisoner” (1570, p. 1822). Writing during exile in Basel, John Bale listed him among those who had fled from England to Germany.²⁶ Not only did Punt have close ties to East Anglia, as a native of the town of Colchester, but he had assisted in collecting the oral testimony on which Foxe based this story. Punt accordingly addressed the following report “To my Lovinge and very good ffrend M^r ffoxe, in the Duke of Norffolkes house Lying by Algate at Chrichurch” on 20 April 1563:

... being at ypswich about this matter, m^r kelke and m^r Walker was to Cambridge. Then went I to M^r Sutton the minister, who was wth yo^u and me at the report of the story, and doith remember it very well every part therof as nowe yt is ymprinted. Notwthstanding he and I wth an other honest man went to the p[ar]

²⁵ 1563, pp. 1704–1705. See Thomas Freeman, “Fate, Faction, and Fiction in Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*,” *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000), pp. 601–604; Mozley, pp. 194–99.

²⁶ *Catalogus*, 1.741–42.

ties againe, and read the storie unto them, who bouldly affirmed the same to be true, and will so confesse before any man. ther was two of them that so verified, and both xx^{ti} yeares of age a pece.²⁷

Masters Kelke and Walker were local preachers. Given the fact that Punt had witnessed the testimony that underlies the printed account, it is not surprising to learn that he vouches for its accuracy. Nevertheless, he invested considerable energy in authenticating a story about which controversy swirled. Indeed, he and a preacher named Master Sutton sought out the two young men who were the original sources of this story. In a letter dated 30 April 1563, William Rushbrook recounts the other side of this controversy by providing Master John Walker, a preacher at Ipswich, with an assessment of Cooper's character that contradicts the laudatory version in the *Book of Martyrs*:

I would yt had nev^{er} bene wrytten for yf enye man myght be Judged a martir w^{ch} then was punished for rebeliouse wordes, we shuld have manye martyrs. of all men therfore wr[i]tt[e]n Punt was muche to blame for I told hym more then two years past that his paper w^{ch} conteyned that reporte was untrewē w^{ch} now (as yt was then wrytten) is put in prynt in w^{ch} reporte ar com[m]ytte thease faultes folowinge.²⁸

Foxe's papers provide a further good example of his use of agents in order to weigh charges and counter-charges that living individuals had participated in the persecution of Protestant martyrs. In a letter dated 30 January 1571, Thomas Thackham of Reading accused Foxe of disseminating slanderous testimony that he had informed against a martyr named Julius Palmer. The 1563 version of the story does not contain this material, but Foxe added it to the second edition. Thackham signed his name to a lengthy defense that an amanuensis copied for him:

An answer to a slaunder untrueth reported by M^r ffoxē in a certen boke intytuled the seconde volume off the Ecclesiasticall hystorye conteynynge the actes & monumentes off martyres wych was broughte unto hym (as yt maye be supposed) by some uncharytable and malycyous slaunderer agaynste Thomas Thackham mynister wherby yt maye well appere unto the gentle reader bothe how much the wryter off that hystorye hathe bene abused and howe wrongfullye the sayed thomas Thakham hathe bene slaundered.

²⁷ MS Harley 416, fol. 122^r.

²⁸ Ibid., fol. 174^r. For thoughts on the motivation of Punt and Rushbrook, see Freeman, "Fate, Faction, and Fiction," pp. 606–609.

This respondent framed his reply in the form of a pro and con disputation in which he refutes arguments attributed to “The slaunderer.” In addition to quoting extended passages from the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (pp. 2120–21), he offers the defense that he himself underwent imprisonment during the reign of Mary I and that “in the tyme off persecutyone, I kepte secretlye, the Ladye Vane . . . [who] was wth me xxj^{ti} wekes.”²⁹

Foxe took Thackham’s response seriously, because he sent representatives to Reading in order to investigate this affair. A preacher named Thomas Parry then denied Thackham’s defense in a letter addressed to “To the right reverend in God M^r Jhon ffoxo preacher of the ghospell in london . . . at M^r Daies the printer dwellyng over Aldersgate beneth S. martens”:

Right reverend & beloved in the lord I have receaved yo^r letters together w^t Thackams answer, which I perceave yow have well perused, & do understand his craftye & ungodly dealing therin, that I may not say fond & foolish. for he doth not denye the substance of the storye, but only seeketh to take advantage by some circumstancys off the tyme & place, wherin yt may be ther was an oversight for lack off perfect instructions or good remembrance at y^e begynnyng.³⁰

Unconvinced by Thackham’s protest, the martyrologist retained the Palmer story without change in the third edition. After receiving a personal visit from this accused minister, however, Foxe did interpolate a report concerning his swearing of a solemn oath of innocence into the 1583 version. Although he revises this story in Thackham’s favor, he adds a caution that no human being is capable of exonerating him:

For that the sayd Th[omas] Thackham not long since, commyng to me hymselfe, hath so attested and deposed against the information, w^t such swearyng and deepe adjuration, takyng the name of the Lorde God to witnesse, and appealyng to his judgment to the utter perdition of his soule if it were not false which by information was reported of hym, and hee faultlesse in the matter. Which beyng so, I could not otherwyse refuse, but to geve credite to his othe, and on the same to alter and correct so much as pertaineth to the diffamatio[n] (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his owne conscience, and the judgments of the Lord God, to whom eyther he standeth if it be true, and falleth if it bee false.³¹

²⁹ MS Harley 425, fols. 18–32, citing 18^{f-v}. For discussion of Lady Elizabeth Vane, see below.

³⁰ MS Harley 416, fol. 100^{f-v}.

³¹ 1583, p. 1937. See Mozley, pp. 159–61.

Among Foxe's collaborators, we must count John Day, who edited and compiled books in the tradition of printer-publishers such as William Caxton, Johannes Oporinus, and Richard Grafton. For example, Day assumed responsibility for gathering the texts published in *The Whole Works of William Tyndale, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes* (1573). Foxe took charge of organizing this collection and providing paratext, including the marginal glosses through which he attempted to channel reader response.³² Undated papers addressed in a hand other than that of Foxe demonstrate that Day was also involved in the gathering of documents for the *Book of Martyrs*. The inscription instructs the bearer to deliver transcriptions of a letter written by John Hullier and a prayer composed by Steven Causon not to Foxe, but to his publisher: "I pray shew this to Master Day at Aldersgate."³³

In a letter dated 10 January 1565, Ralph Morice, a former chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, affords further documentation concerning Day's participation in the search for material for the *Book of Martyrs*:

After hartie commendations Where as yo^u div[er]s[e] tymes put me in remembrance to serche oute suche pap[er]s of monument[es] as I hadd in my custodie concerning the furnytur of your Eccl[esi]astically storie suche as remaynyd in my hand. I did lett you have but far under the nomb[er], that I hadd at the begynnyng of quene Maryes reigne ffor by reason that I became fugityve frome myn awne house and brake prison frome the Justice my house *within* ij yerres was thrise serchid so y^t by that meanes I lost a great sorte of thing worthie *perpetuall* memorie and speciallie certeyne epistills of Kyng Edward to my lorde of Canterbury and y^e answers of my lorde unto hym.

In spite of the loss of manuscripts when Morice was imprisoned during the reign of Mary I, he was able to send documentation critical of papal claims concerning temporal authority. Going on to inquire whether his documents warrant mention in the notes of the martyrology – "You maie consulte w^t M^r ffox, whither it be wourthie to be signified to the worlde emonges y^e notes of your monumente[s]" – Morice expresses regret that he was unable to correct a mistaken identification of Dr. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who had presided over the prosecution of martyrs as one of Cranmer's chaplains: "I wold yt hadd byn my fortune to have byn in london and have had some accesse w^t M^r ffox when y^r boke was first put in prynte I wolde emonge div[er]s[e] thinges of my notise amended specially

³² On the construction of this book, see King, "Light of Printing," pp. 64–78.

³³ MS Harley 416, fols. 17^r–20^v.

one thing whiche ys suerly not true.”³⁴ Despite the claim that this letter “hardly furnishes proof that Day played any great part as an editor,”³⁵ material supplied by Morice did find its way into the 1570 version.³⁶

In addition to these collaborators, John Bale was a major contributor and source for the *Book of Martyrs*. A full generation older than Foxe, Bale was born in 1495. Rising within the order of Carmelite friars, he served as prior of their houses in East Anglia before his conversion to Protestantism during the early 1530s. He joined in the effort of John Leland, the King’s Antiquary, to search for and preserve manuscripts from monastic libraries. Under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII’s chief minister and vicegerent for religious affairs, Bale composed propagandistic plays in which he appears to have performed as a member of his master’s troupe. He fled England on the passage of the Act of Six Articles (1539), the stringent penal code that underwent vilification from Protestants such as Foxe. During this first exile, Bale wrote a series of anti-Catholic polemics that are notable for their vigorous invective style. Copies printed at Antwerp and Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves, were smuggled into England. His close association with Foxe dated to the reign of Edward VI, during which he returned from his initial continental exile. Under the patronage of Mary Fitzroy, Duchess of Richmond, Bale lodged with Foxe at her London residence, Mountjoy House. She belonged to a circle of eminent Protestant women closely associated with Catherine Parr and their spiritual adviser, Hugh Latimer. As a tutor whom she hired to instruct the orphaned offspring of her late brother, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Foxe also forged a lifelong association with her nephew, Thomas Howard, later 4th Duke of Norfolk.³⁷

When Bale joined Foxe in fleeing England following the accession of Mary I, the older bookman collaborated on the martyrologist’s compilation of *Commentarii*.³⁸ They eventually gravitated to Basel, where they again resided together and gained employment as learned correctors at the printing house of Johannes Oporinus (see Chapter 2.A). Here Bale and

³⁴ Ibid., fol. 183^{r-v}.

³⁵ C. L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer*, Occasional Publication no. 10 (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), p. 26.

³⁶ Mozley, p. 140.

³⁷ ERL, pp. 72–73, 105–106, 112, 434. See Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale, Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press, 1976), pp. 135–36, 152.

³⁸ Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism, and the English Reformation: from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), p. 74.

Foxe worked side by side on their respective compendia (*Catalogus* and *Rerum*), which passed through Oporinus's presses at roughly the same time. Consisting of two massive folio volumes, the *Catalogus* is a revision and expansion of Bale's *Summarium*, the account of British authors that he had published near the end of his first exile on the continent. Organizing his material in chronological order, he marshals authors into "centuries" (i.e., groupings of 100 entries). In the course of revising this compilation, he expanded entries for figures included in the first version (e.g., Latimer, Hooper, and Cranmer) and added accounts of Marian martyrs including John Rogers, Nicholas Ridley, John Bradford, and John Philpot. Because he combines biography with bibliography, his grouping together of these entries functions as a rough-and-ready martyrology. Through historical excurses interspersed throughout this collection, Bale supplies an apocalyptic context within which all of these writers are said to have worked.

Foxe and Bale demonstrate thorough familiarity with their respective projects concerning the *acts* and *monuments* of the English martyrs. Bale's *Catalogus* accordingly contains entries that predate the printing of manuscript material in the *Book of Martyrs*. We are often unable to determine which bookman came on material first. Bale's entry for John Bradford's "Ad quatuor urbes" ("To four towns") accordingly corresponds to Foxe's transcription of these letters in the 1563 version of his martyrology: "To the City of London" (p. 1176); "To the university and town of Cambridg" (NNN1^v); "To Lankesshyre and Chesshyre" (p. 1179); and "To the towne of Walden" (p. 1182). A letter by John Hooper that Bale entitles "De patientia ad uxorem" ("On patience, to his wife") appears in the *Book of Martyrs* under the guise of "An exhortation to patience, sent to his godly wife Anne Hoper" (1570, p. 1687).³⁹ In turn, Foxe refers readers of the *Book of Martyrs* to Bale's *Catalogus*. Acknowledging that "The Dictionarie of Thomas Gascoigne, I have not in my handes present," Foxe guides the reader to a manuscript cited in Bale's *Catalogus* (1570, p. 840). Gascoigne's book was not published before c. 1565. With reference to prophecies and prognostications concerning the "subversion and alteration of the Sea of Rome" (p. 969), he again cites Bale's *Catalogus*: "To this may be adjoynded, whiche in certeine Chronicles, and in John Bale is recorded." A marginal gloss credits the same "century" as his source (p. 968). Yet again, Foxe cites "Joa[nnes]. Baleus, De scriptorib[us] Centur[ia]. 2." as a

³⁹ *Catalogus*, 1.679–81. I am indebted to Christopher Warner for this information.

source concerning the history of the papacy (p. 1329). The compiler further defends his friend's publications against attack by Stephen Gardiner, the recently deprived Bishop of Winchester, during the reign of Edward VI: "Winchester wrangleth agaynst Bales bookes" (1583, p. 1342).

Foxe also demonstrates first- and second-hand familiarity with books in Bale's library. In lamenting the destruction of books by those who burned Wyclif's library in 1410, Foxe pays homage to his friend for gathering and preserving medieval manuscripts that contain writings by this great medieval reformer:

Allbeit yet in this behalfe, Jhon Bale hathe deserved not a little praise, thorowe whose exquisyte labour and diligence, it is brought to passe, that not only certaine titles and argumentes of hys bokes: but also certaine monumentes, (as I do here) are recovered out of darcknesse, a manne, which not in this part alone hath well deserved of good studients.⁴⁰

In responding to an attack on the veracity of his sources that Alan Cope based on Fabyan's *Chronicle*, Foxe defends the reliability of material that he received directly from Bale during their residence at the London home of the Duchess of Richmond. He grants higher authority to manuscripts gathered by Leland and Bale than to Cope's printed authorities: "especial-lye seing I do know, and was privy, that the sayde John in recognising his Centuries [i.e., *Summarium*], followed altogether the hystory of Leland De Catalogo virorum illustrium, whyche booke being borrowed of maister Cheke, I my self dyd see in the handes of the foresayd John Bale, what tyme we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble Lady Duches of Rychmond" (1570, p. 830).

We now know that Bale compiled the account of King John that found its way, in a form essentially unrevised, into the emerging *Book of Martyrs*.⁴¹ It parallels Bale's own dramatic interlude, *King Johan*, which he wrote under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell during the 1530s. As the hero of the play, King John affords a precedent for monarchical reform of the Church of England through his unsuccessful attempt to rescue England, personified as a widow, from papal "tyranny." These dramatic and historical versions of his experience contradict existing sources in their uncompromising vision of the king as a proto-Protestant hero who resisted papal authority prior to his submission to Pope Innocent III and

⁴⁰ 1563, p. 98.

⁴¹ Thomas Freeman, "John Bale's Book of Martyrs: The Account of King John in *Acts and Monuments*," *Reformation* 3 (1998), pp. 175–223.

surrender of his crown. The allegations concerning the monarch's poisoning by Simon, a monk of Swineshead Abbey, are in keeping with Bale's other writings, notably the *Acts of English Votaries* (1546). These virulently anti-fraternal charges emerged not long after the king's death. The cartoonlike characterization of monastic figures in Bale's play corresponds, in a manner of speaking, to satirical compartments within the illustration of the poisoning of the king that John Day commissioned for Foxe's book.⁴²

We encounter many other traces of Bale within the *Book of Martyrs*. For example, Foxe's account of the conversion of England, his attack on the imposition of clerical celibacy during the reign of Pope Gregory the Great, and other details in his history of the Anglo-Saxons are deeply indebted to Bale's *Acts of English Votaries*.⁴³ The older man was a useful source, because he knew more about books by English writers than any other person alive.⁴⁴ In keeping with his continuation of John Leland's antiquarian project of enumerating and preserving manuscripts that were dispersed following the breakup of abbey libraries at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Bale preserved important manuscript sources. In quoting articles of recantation subscribed to by John Purvey, for example, Foxe cites extracts gathered by Richard Lavingham out of a manuscript borrowed from Bale:

And thus muche out of a certaine olde written booke in parchment borrowed once of J. B. which booke conteining divers auncient records of the universitie [of Oxford]: seemeth to belong sometimes to the library of the Universitie, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, 1396, which computation if it be true, then was written of him [i.e., Purvey] or [i.e., ere] that he recanted before Thomas Arundell Archbishop at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned.

When he ascribes Bale's copy to the hand of Purvey, a close associate of Wyclif who later withdrew his recantation, Foxe works within a living manuscript tradition that connects him directly to the Lollards. The compiler's supplementation of this material with a sermon preached by a Lollard contemporary of Purvey demonstrates how he also relied on the extensive library of Archbishop Matthew Parker: "Albeit, among the

⁴² TRI, fig. 57.

⁴³ Helen Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent Policy and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 101–112, passim.

⁴⁴ See the detailed bibliographical entries in his *Summarium* and *Catalogus*. See also ERL, pp. 66–68, 424–25.

ancient registers and records belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury: I have an old worne copy of the said Sermon, written in very old English, and almost halfe consumed with age.”⁴⁵ Not only did Parker continue the project of preserving medieval manuscripts upon which Leland and Bale had embarked,⁴⁶ he appointed Bale to a canonry at Canterbury Cathedral after the latter returned from his final exile.

C. Models for the book

The title page border of the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs* boldly affiliates Foxe's book with John Bale's *Image of Both Churches* (Antwerp, 1545?), the most important publication of his first exile. After all, a legend added beneath the woodcut compartment – “The image of the persecuted Church. The image of the persecuting Church.” – identifies inset scenes of Protestant versus Catholic worship with Bale's apocalyptic paradigm.⁴⁷ From the 1570 version onward, a preface refers to Bale's commentary in describing Foxe's goal of portraying “the Image of both Churches, aswell of the one, as of the other: especially of the poore oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ.” A marginal note emphasizes this reference to the “Image of both Churches.”⁴⁸ As the first printed English commentary on the whole of Revelation, Bale's book interprets Christian history as a conflict between the “true” church, whose teachings are based on the teaching of Jesus, and the “false” church, whose headship by the Bishop of Rome results from alleged subversion by Antichrist. In a tradition rooted in the thinking of Joachim de Fiore, a twelfth-century theologian, Bale understands Revelation as a prophecy of the downfall of the Roman Antichrist.⁴⁹ Working from Tyndale's version of the New Testament, Bale modifies the Augustinian and Lutheran belief that the “true” church has existed ever since the time of Adam and Eve. Bale denies the medieval interpretation of the Woman Clothed with the Sun (Rev. 12) as a figure for the Virgin Mary, associating her instead with the church descended from

⁴⁵ 1583, pp. 546–47. See F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1967), pp. 114–15.

⁴⁶ Parish, *Clerical Marriage*, pp. 101–103.

⁴⁷ Figure 2 reproduces the 1563 title page, which lacks this legend. For the 1570 version, see *ERL*, fig. 18.

⁴⁸ 1570, 3^r. See Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, p. 74.

⁴⁹ *ERL*, pp. 197–99; *Voices*, pp. 22–30.

Christ. He sees the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17) as a type for the Church of Rome, whose clergy he associates with superstition, ostentatious vestments and processions, gross breaches of celibacy, empty ritualism, and erroneous belief in transubstantiation and the Mass.

Foxe's documentation concerning ecclesiastical corruption and persecution fleshes out Bale's vision of enduring conflict between the two churches. The portrayal of persecuted saints at the left-hand side of the title page anticipates the stories and pictures of martyrs in flames for which the *Book of Martyrs* is famous. Foxe's engagement with the *Image of Both Churches* is consistent with the function of the Book of Revelation as a model for variations in the apocalyptic design of different editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. The Protestant public possessed broad familiarity with Revelation through exposure to successive versions of the English Bible, in addition to Latin versions such as the *Biblia Sacrosancta* (Zurich, 1543), which Leo Jud and his colleagues translated out of the Hebrew and Greek texts. The *Image of Both Churches* attained great influence through the assimilation of Bale's ideas into the annotations of the Geneva Bible (1560).

Setting his annalistic account of ecclesiastical history within an apocalyptic framework influenced by Bale, Foxe based his conception of historical sequence on the belief that the Millennium began with the binding of Satan at the time of the Ascension. The beginning of the 1563 version of the *Book of Martyrs* accordingly coincides with the release of Satan c. 1000. As a result of the massive expansion of the second edition, Foxe revised his fivefold division of apocalyptic history in ways that departed from the Balean model. Notable for "A Table of the Ten First Persecutions of the Primitive Church," the first part of the 1570 version concludes soon after the conversion of Emperor Constantine I (the Great) in 313 C.E. The second 300-year segment marks the "florishing and growing tyme" of the church that is marked by collaboration between ecclesiastical and secular authorities. In English history, the third segment ("the declining tyme of the church, and of true religion") extends from Egbert, King of the West Saxons, until not long before the Norman Conquest. The fourth period constitutes the "time of Antichrist, reigning and raging in the church, since the loosing out of Sathan" c. 1000. It marked the apogee of the alleged corruption of the church by the popes of the High Middle Ages, notably Gregory VII (Hildebrand). Beginning during the era of John Wyclif and his followers, the fifth and final age constitutes "the reforming time of Christes church in these latter.300.yeaes." According to this revised scheme, the era of latter-day saints and martyrs recalls the period

of the imperial persecutions.⁵⁰ Of particular importance is Foxe's chronological interpretation of the forty-two months that figure in Revelation 13:5. Viewing each month as equivalent to seven years, he came to view this period as the 294 years that concluded with Constantine's defeat of Licinius in 324. In a section entitled "The mysticall numbers in the Apocalyps opened," he records how his earlier calculations had failed to elucidate the chronological scheme. The resolution finally came to him as he lay in bed on a Sunday morning: "sodenly it was answered to my minde, as with a majestie, thus inwardly saying within me: thou foole count these monethes by Sabbots, as the weekes of Daniell are counted by Sabbots. The Lorde I take to witnes thus it was."⁵¹

Although this massive history has been known as the *Book of Martyrs* from the beginning, we should attend to the formal title of the second edition:

The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in every kynges tyme in this Realme, especially in the Church of England principally to be noted. With a full discourse of such persecutions, horrible troubles, the sufferyng of Martyrs, and other thinges incident, touchyng aswel the sayd Church of England as also Scotland, and all other foreine nations, from the primitive tyme till the reigne of K[ing] Henry VIII. Newly recognised and enlarged by the Author John Foxe.

Categorization of the collection as ecclesiastical history accords with early modern catalogues that classify it as divinity rather than secular history.⁵² Over and beyond accounts of the arrests, trials, convictions, and executions of martyrs, which tend to be foremost in the minds of readers, Foxe incorporated a vast set of documents concerning the history of the Christian church. These prolix writings include theological disputations, promulgations of church councils, papal bulls, episcopal degrees, clerical biographies, and much more.

⁵⁰ 1570, p. 49. See V. Norskov Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 67–70; Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, pp. 84–85. For general discussion of Foxe's ideas, see Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 39–45.

⁵¹ 1583, pp. 100–101. See Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 89.

⁵² Andrew Maunsell, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books: which concerneth . . . divinity* (London: John Windet and James Roberts for Andrew Maunsell, 1595), p. 51; Thomas Philipps, *Bibliotheca Anglesiana* (London: Notts, et al., 1686), English Divinity, in folio, nos. 7 and 133.

Foxe emulates the *Ecclesiastica historia* of Eusebius Pamphili, the fourth-century Bishop of Caesarea, as the preeminent model for ecclesiastical history. Indeed he represents himself as a second Eusebius in dedicating the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs* to Elizabeth I, whom he styles along the lines of Eusebius's patron, Emperor Constantine I (see Chapter 2.C.1). Written early during the fourth century in response to the intense persecution of Christians, *Ecclesiastica historia* exemplifies an annalistic method in recounting the suffering of martyrs and other events, which included accessions of Roman emperors and primates of the churches at Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Rome. Foxe was conversant with the original, but publication of Meredith Hanmer's translation in *The Ancient Ecclesiastical Histories of the first six hundred years after Christ, written in the Greek Tongue by three learned historiographers, Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius* (1577), not many years after publication of the second edition of Foxe's history, suggests that a market existed for Eusebian history among readers of the English vernacular. In a preface entitled the "declaration concerning the utilitie and profite of thys history," Foxe articulates a Eusebian concern with "the lyves and doinges, not of roughe warriours, but of moste mylde and constant Martyrs."⁵³ Like other parts of the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, this preface derives from Foxe's *Rerum*. With slight amendments, this address remained in place in later editions. Foxe relied heavily on Eusebius in doubling the length of the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs*. Responding to the Roman Catholic charge that Protestantism constituted an "innovation," he added an extended "description of the .x. fyrst persecutions in the primitive church" (1570, pp. 54–144). It contributes to the heroization of latter-day martyrs of recent memory by placing them in direct continuity from persecuted saints of the early church. For example, the banderole in the woodcut depiction of Rogers's execution contains words ("Lord, receive my spirit") that allude to the dying speech of St. Stephen.⁵⁴ Foxe or his sources appropriate this first Christian martyr as a model for martyrdom in accounts of many individuals including John Hooper and Thomas Cranmer. Foxe and his collaborators also liken Hooper to St. Polycarp.⁵⁵

Whereas Eusebius's *Ecclesiastica historia* constituted the preeminent history of the early church, a series of Latin, French, Dutch, and German

⁵³ 1563, B6^r. See Collinson, "Truth, Lies, and Fiction," p. 49.

⁵⁴ 1570, p. 1662.

⁵⁵ 1583, p. 1512. See Chapter 1.D, below, concerning Foxe's comparison of Hugh Latimer with St. Polycarp.

histories afford models contemporary to the *Book of Martyrs* and its Latin precursors. The humanistic scholars who produced these books knew each other or studied each other's writings as they published these books over a period of about two decades at printing houses located at Basel, Geneva, and Strasbourg.⁵⁶ Henricus Pantaleon, for example, compiled *Martyrum historia* as the second installment of Foxe's *Rerum* (see Chapter 2.A). Oporinus also published the extraordinary *Ecclesiastica historia*, which was edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, a Lutheran theologian, polemicist, and ecclesiastical historian. Its title styles it as a successor to Eusebius's ecclesiastical history, but it is better known as *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* or the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Appearing at the rate of about one volume per year between 1560 and 1574, its thirteen volumes each correspond to roughly a century of church history. It is the only one of these books to surpass the *Book of Martyrs* in length.

Among the earliest of these martyrological histories *per se* was *Historien Der Heyligen Ausserwölten Gottes Zeügen, Bekennern und Martyrern, so in Angehender ersten Kirchen, Altes und Neüwes Testaments, zou jeder zeyt gewesen seind* (1555–57). Compiled by a Lutheran minister named Ludwig Rabus and published in Strasbourg by Samuel Emmel, this German text fills six hefty quarto volumes that contain close to one million words.⁵⁷ Unlike the *Book of Martyrs*, which begins with a comparison between the early Christian church and the latter-day Church of Rome, Rabus's *History of God's Chosen Witnesses, Confessors, and Martyrs* is a universal history that begins with Abel, the proto-martyr, whose slaughter by Cain initiates conflict between the "invisible church" of Christ and the "visible church" headed by Antichrist, whose most recent embodiment Rabus identifies with the Roman pontiff. This book addresses a vernacular readership in the manner of the *Book of Martyrs*, but it is more thinly illustrated with woodcuts. In addition to Abel, the first volume contains entries for roughly 100 biblical and early Christian martyrs including St. Paul, Blaudina, and St. Polycarp. The remaining volumes contain fewer than seventy martyrologies, as opposed to more than one thousand in the *Book of Martyrs*. Like Foxe, Rabus relies on Eusebius and situates latter-day martyrs within a continuous tradition that goes back to their ancient

⁵⁶ For general discussion of the place of these historians within martyrological history, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 165–96.

⁵⁷ Bound as three volumes, the set at FL (173–533q) consists of books that are as thick as the hand can hold.

forebears. Although he excludes the non-martyrological material that Foxe absorbs into his text, for the most part, Rabus does incorporate an extended life of Martin Luther, which fills up most of the fourth volume. Despite its compilation in German, this collection has an international dimension that allows for the derivation of material concerning English martyrs from Bale's *Summarium* and Foxe's *Commentarii*. Rabus accordingly includes entries for Robert Barnes, William Thorpe, Sir John Oldcastle, Anne Askew, and others.

Adriaan van Haemstede's *Geschiedenisse der vromer Martelaren* (1559) has attracted little attention outside the circle of those interested in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church. This is due, at least in part, to the existence of a narrower readership for printing in Dutch than in the other languages employed by early modern martyrologists. The *History of the Pious Martyrs* lacks the broad chronological scope of the other collections, because its compiler focuses on the suffering of members of the underground community of Calvinists in Antwerp, to which he served as pastor. Not only did van Haemstede possess intimate familiarity with the events that he describes, he knew many of the victims of persecution by the governors of the Spanish Netherlands. Publication of this book in Emden reflects on-going duress of the community of Dutch Calvinists. This East Frisian port emerged as an important site for the publication of books written by Dutch émigrés, who faced death if they published Protestant propaganda in Antwerp, and for Protestant fugitives from Marian England.⁵⁸ Although no translation of this book exists, Foxe does cite it as a source in the margins of the *Book of Martyrs*. It is worthy of note, however, that Foxe collaborated closely with John Day, who employed Dutch pressmen and published books in Dutch that catered to immigrants within the Strangers' church in London. Within Day's printing house, if not elsewhere, Foxe fell within the sphere of influence of Dutch Calvinism. Like Rabus, van Haemstede asserts that contemporary Protestant saints are direct descendents of early Christian martyrs. It may be that both of their books influenced Foxe.⁵⁹

Jean Crespin compiled two interrelated, but very different, martyrologies. In contrast to the division of responsibility between Foxe and Day,

⁵⁸ Andrew Pettegree, "The English Church at Emden," in *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 23.

⁵⁹ See Andrew Pettegree, "Haemstede and Foxe," in *JFER*, pp. 278–94; and Guido Latré, "Was van Haemstede a Direct Source for Foxe? On le Blas's *Pijnbanck* and Other Borrowings," in *JFHA*, pp. 151–55.

this Genevan printer discharged the roles of both compiler and publisher. In constructing Latin and French versions of his martyrological collections, Crespin pursued a career with a trajectory that ran parallel to that of Foxe. Unlike Rabus and van Haemstede, who confined their writing to German and Dutch, Crespin and Foxe were equally conversant at publishing martyrological history both for Latin-educated and vernacular readers. Although Crespin begins with Wyclif and Hus in the manner of the 1563 *Book of Martyrs*, he focuses on sixteenth-century events for the most part. In this he resembles Foxe more than Rabus, despite the greater emphasis of the former on late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century history. More than Rabus or Foxe, Crespin has a trans-European scope, but he does emphasize the martyrdom of Huguenots. He incorporates fewer entries than Foxe and eschews compilation of an encyclopedic array of documents, with the exception of some letters by Calvin.

Crespin provides an important analogue for Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* by gathering the acts and monuments of German, French, British, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish martyrs. His series of French martyrologies begins with *Livre des Martyrs* (1554) and *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ* (1555). Appearing in 1560, the Latin text of *Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum* constitutes an expansion of *Acta Martyrum* (1556), in which Claude Baduel translated material compiled by Crespin. Not only does this collection parallel Foxe's *Rerum* in taking the time of Wyclif and Hus as its starting point, it derives its accounts of English martyrs from Foxe. Indeed, Crespin and Baduel relied heavily on his *Commentarii* and/or *Rerum* in their various publications.⁶⁰ Containing fewer than 250,000 words, Crespin's quarto lacks illustrations, woodcuts, and indices. Published only four years later in 1564, Crespin's further expansion resembles the *Book of Martyrs* in many respects. Published as a large folio, *Actes des Martyrs Deduits en Sept Livres, depuis le temps de Wiclef et de Hus, jusques à present* contains about one million words. The title page explains how this collection goes beyond martyrology in its presentation of "un recueil de vrai histoire ecclesiastique, de ceux qui ont constamment enduré la mort en derniers temps, pour la verité du Fils de Dieu." Its 600 martyrologies transcend the European scope of *Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum* through the inclusion of material concerning persecutions in the New

⁶⁰ For a detailed account of their indebtedness to Foxe's two Latin histories and his borrowings, in turn, from continental sources, see Mark Greengrass and Thomas Freeman, "The *Actes and Monuments* and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies," *A&M* (online).

World. In expanding the number of English martyrs, Crespin assimilates material concerning Lady Jane Grey, Oldcastle, Askew, Bradford, Cranmer, Hooper, Philpot, Ridley, and many others from Foxe's *Commentarii and Rerum*. Crespin's *Troisieme Partie du recueil des martyrs* (1556) had contained "the first account to appear collectively in print of the fate of some of the most prominent victims of the first wave of the Marian persecution." Indeed, it appears that this important Genevan publisher was able to gain access to manuscript accounts of English persecutions that circulated within the émigré community.⁶¹ In turn, Foxe acknowledges his assimilation of material from Crespin's martyrologies in his glosses on the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs*.

As much or more than these other books, publication of the *Magdeburg Centuries* provides both a source and an analogue for the *Book of Martyrs*. The continental history acquired its popular title from its dedication of a separate volume to each century of church history. Indeed, Bale's articulation of apocalyptic historiography appears to have influenced the organization that Flacius and his colleagues imposed on the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Compilation of this landmark collection by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his fellow Centuriators corresponds to the collaborative enterprise undertaken by Foxe and many colleagues. Not only did Flacius reside in Basel at the same time as Foxe and Bale, but he also compiled texts published by their employer, Johannes Oporinus. Indeed, the *Magdeburg Centuries* represents a successor to Flacius's *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* ("Catalogues of Witnesses for Truth"), a collection of antipapal pronouncements by martyrs and their Protestant coreligionists, which Oporinus published in 1556. In addition to martyrology, the *Magdeburg Centuries* cover the place and propagation of the Christian church, ecclesiastical persecution and tranquility, theological doctrine, heresies and errors, ceremonies and rites, ecclesiastical polity, schismatics, church councils, heresy, miracles and prodigies, non-Christian religions, and alterations in politics and monarchies. Martyrology comprises only one component in this ecclesiastical history. The *Magdeburg Centuries* and/or *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* constituted vital intermediaries on which Foxe relied for much of his material. For example, he relies on the Centuriators' recension of material from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastica historica*, rather than

⁶¹ David Watson, "Jean Crespin and the First English Martyrology of the Reformation," in *JFER*, pp. 192–209, citing p. 193. Crespin published continuations of his French martyrological histories in 1561 and 1563.

the original source, in recounting the history of the primitive church and much more.⁶²

D. Manuscript witnesses

Although Foxe extracts much of the material in the *Book of Martyrs* out of printed books, his compilation exemplifies the continuation of manuscript circulation and scribal publication after the advent of printing.⁶³ Not only do many of Foxe's manuscript sources survive, but the construction of this book also enables readers to perceive vestiges of manuscripts that he employed. These traces are not confined to book-length writings or the letters of the martyrs on whose printing Foxe collaborated with Henry Bull. In a manner recognizable from John Bale's various catalogues, Foxe does not draw a sharp line between manuscript and print in enumerating codices in the list of "Names of the Authors Alleged in this Booke," which he added to the 1570 version. An omnibus entry tellingly cites "Chron[ica] manuscripta varia." Foxe joined Bale in working in accordance with late medieval and early modern practice, whereby librarians shelved manuscript and print together and owners frequently bound printed books and manuscripts within the same volume. Early printed books often resemble manuscripts, not out of imitation, but because printers and copyists observed many of the same conventions.⁶⁴

Although the present discussion makes note of the survival of caches of papers that Foxe edited, sometimes in collaboration with Bull, it focuses on the self-reflexive concern with manuscript sources within stories on which they are based. Martyrological tales and the letters appended to them bring to life scribal practices through their dramatization of the writing and circulation of manuscripts. They portray a collective process of writing, copying, and circulation of manuscripts as a means by which prisoners *in extremis* attested to their religious faith and attempted to

⁶² See ERL, p. 373. For an informative consideration of Foxe's indebtedness to the *Magdeburg Centuries* and other historical models, see Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe as Historian," *A&M* (online). He notes that Foxe could not have compiled *A&M* if he had not steeped himself in continental scholarship during his time of exile.

⁶³ See Wabuda, "Henry Bull"; Freeman, "Publish and Perish." On the continuation of manuscript circulation during the age of print, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁶⁴ N. F. Blake, "Manuscript to Print," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 404–405, 412.

sustain and comfort their coreligionists. Affording insight into habits of reading and writing within a company of beleaguered coreligionists, they open a window into a world in which manuscripts and the writing materials functioned in a manner akin to that of discredited religious relics. This investigation accordingly focuses less on the manuscripts of the Marian martyrs than on vestigial traces concerning their copying and circulation that we may locate in the printed text. It also considers the broader importance of medieval manuscripts and libraries as icons of religious authority. Consideration of these visible signs allows insight into the nature of the *Book of Martyrs* as a material object that rests on Foxe's compilation of stories out of a diverse array of manuscripts including Lollard codices, episcopal registers, coroners' inquests, and letters and documents written by Marian prisoners as they awaited execution for heresy.

Foxe relies on oral testimony that had undergone mediation through transcriptions written down in his own hand or those of reporters or amanuenses on whom he relied. Printers tended to use such documents as waste paper or disposed of them after compositors had employed them in setting type and correctors had completed proofreading. Documentation of a living oral tradition supports Foxe's overarching view that testimonials of latter-day martyrs demonstrate direct continuity with their medieval predecessors. The gathering of oral testimony therefore lends credence to the martyrological project as a whole, because eyewitnesses were in a position to vouch for the accuracy of his collection. Foxe accordingly claims that accurate testimony based on oral reports made by "both men and wemen, whiche can and do beare wytnes," will silence "carpyng cavillers with as much possibilitie as I may." For example, he relies on recollections of the 1506 martyrdom of Lollards in Buckinghamshire. At the verge of living memory, Foxe cites William Page, "an aged father and yet alyve, witnes to the same," and a widow named Agnes Wetherley, "beyng about the age of an hundreth yeares, yet lyving and wytnes hereof." These eye witnesses attested that local authorities in the village of Amersham forced Joan Clerke to kindle the fire that consumed her father, William Tylseley. A miller named Father Roberts perished at the same time. Ensuing years brought the execution of a husbandman, a laborer, and two men who were known as Father Rogers and Father Rever. "Divers[e] honeste men that be nowe lyvyng" joined William Page and Widow Wetherley in confirming that many others escaped immolation by bearing faggots as an act of penance that symbolized the fate that they had avoided. Concerning the pressing to death of Thomas Chase, another

Amersham martyr, Foxe cites the oral testimony of “a certaine woman, that kept him in prison” (1570, pp. 917–18).

With reference to continuing persecution near the end of the reign of Henry VII, Foxe relays “the credible reporte of one William Russel an aged man dwellyng a [i.e., of] late in Colman strete,” about the burning of Lawrence Ghest of Salisbury. This eyewitness transmitted the sensational report that “one of the Byshops men, threw a firebrand at his face” as the flames consumed him. Contemporary Londoners would have been able to ask Russell to verify the accuracy of this report, because he lived in close proximity to the Aldersgate printing house of John Day, where Foxe collaborated in the production of the *Book of Martyrs*. Of very considerable interest is Foxe’s reliance on Richard Webb, “being nowe aged, then younge,” who reports that his father, Rowland, “recited to hym many tymes the burnyng of” a woman at Chipping Sodbury, in Avon (1570, p. 919). A onetime servant of Hugh Latimer, Webb is the likely source for Foxe’s account of the time that William Tyndale spent as a tutor at the nearby locality of Little Sodbury.⁶⁵

For obvious reasons, handwritten records played a crucial role in recording events that predated the advent of printing. Even when he does not consult manuscripts directly, Foxe accords quasi-talismanic significance to *monuments* concerning the history of the “true” church throughout the ages. Because recovery of manuscripts by John Wyclif and his followers looms as an important adjunct to his martyrological project, he pays homage to William Tyndale as a bookman *par excellence* when he identifies him as the editor of Wycliffite tracts. This claim may be dubious, but it is not impossible. After all, we do know that Foxe acquired a manuscript of a Lollard text copied in Tyndale’s own hand.⁶⁶ His search for ancient documents exemplifies a Protestant myth of a “true” apostolic tradition that extended to Tyndale from early Christian apostles via Wyclif and his followers, thus bypassing the apostolic succession claimed by the papacy. Foxe’s assimilation of William Thorpe’s heresy examination (he “did write it and pen it out him self”) exemplifies this yearning to preserve an unbroken manuscript tradition, because the compiler claims that he has “neither added [to] nor diminished” a manuscript “as wee have received it, copyed out & corrected by maister William Tindall (who

⁶⁵ See King, “Light of Printing,” pp. 56–58.

⁶⁶ Foxe’s extant papers include a portion of Tyndale’s own copy of a Lollard tract attributed to William Thorpe (MS Harley 425, fols. 1–2). See W. R. Cooper, “A Newly Identified Fragment in the Handwriting of William Tyndale,” *Reformation* 3 (1998), pp. 323–47.

had hys owne hande writyng) so we have here sent it and set it out abroad." Foxe regrets that Tyndale has modernized archaic language for the sake of the contemporary reader, but he does observe that the language remains close to the original: "The sayd maister Tyndall (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English therof, and frame it after our maner), yet not fully in all wordes, but that some thing doth remaine, saverying [i.e., savoring] of the old speach of that tyme." Even though he transmits a later recension of this document, Foxe reports that "they bee yet a lyve, which have seen the selfe same copy in his own old Englishe, resemblyng the true antiquitie both of the speache and of the tyme." Indeed, he cites a witness "who as he hath seen the true auncient copy in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he geven credible relation of the same, both to the printer and to me" (1570, p. 629). We now know that it is more likely that Constantine, who had collaborated with Tyndale during their residence in Antwerp, edited this document.⁶⁷ Bale and Foxe ascribed to Tyndale the first printed version of *The Examination of Master William Thorpe Priest Accused of Heresy* in a joint edition with another Lollard document, *The Examination of the Honorable Knight Sir John Oldcastle* (Antwerp, 1530). Foxe further declares that Bale's edition of *A Brief Chronicle concerning the Examination and Death of . . . Sir John Oldcastle* (Antwerp, 1544) contains supplementary material written by those who condemned the Lollard martyr. Foxe declares of his version of the Oldcastle martyrology: "Thus have you h[e]ard the whole matter concerning the martirdom of the good Lord Cobham as we have gathered it partly out of the Collectors [i.e., collections] of Jhon Bale and others."⁶⁸

Episcopal registers provided a rich vein for Foxe or his associates to mine. Indeed, the title of the 1563 version announces that its text is "Gathered and collected according to the true copies & wrytinges certifi-catorie, as wel of the parties them selves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers." This edition drew extensively on the diocesan registers that Foxe had occasion to study while he was a guest of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, during 1560–61. These records are no longer extant. Not only did Parkhurst contribute an epitaph on Lady Jane Grey to Foxe's *Rerum*, but he also contributed to a set of commendatory verses in the

⁶⁷ Anthea Hume, "English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525–1535: An Annotated Bibliography," in *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 8, ii, Louis A. Schuster et al., eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), Appendix B, nos. 18, 20, 29. She assigns responsibility for the edition of Wycliffite texts not to Tyndale, but to George Constantine or George Joy.

⁶⁸ 1563, p. 277.

1570 *Book of Martyrs*, which celebrate friendship within a circle of Protestant humanists. Foxe's work on the Norwich registers helps to account for his intense focus on East Anglian martyrs during the compilation of the third phase of his history, which concerns persecution from the time of Wyclif until the present. His preface to this section acknowledges the vital importance of material "gathered out of registers, especially of the dioces of Norwiche . . . wher in may be seene what men, and how many both menne and wemen within the said diocesse of Norwich, there have been which have defended the same cause of doctrine, whyche now is receyved by us in the church" (1563, p. 347). Glosses in the margins of the 1570 edition proclaim that documents derive from the archives of the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Ex Registro Archb. W. Courtney," "Ex Regist. Cantuar.," "Ex Regist. Tho. Arundel." In one instance, Foxe bases the design of a woodcut newly crafted for this edition on a marginal drawing in the register of Archbishop William Courtenay. Indeed, this picture of a barefoot man bearing a bunch of straw as an act of penance contributes to Foxe's on-going effort to authenticate his documentation. Both the text and a marginal note indicate that this woodcut attests to the accuracy of this extract, because one may compare the printed illustration with the manuscript drawing.⁶⁹ Foxe elsewhere relies on diocesan records at Lincoln and other locations.

The most important tributaries that flow into Foxe's stream of manuscripts consist of first-hand accounts written by condemned prisoners, letters that they penned, and stories that close associates composed about them after their death. The paleographical origins of these documents have received relatively little attention to date, despite the fact that "Marian Protestants relied more heavily on the written than the printed word." It is nevertheless important to recognize that condemned clerics wielded the pen in order to disseminate anti-Catholic propaganda, to edify and control congregations outside of prison walls, and to implement theological conformity among their fellow believers.⁷⁰

Co-editing many letters of the Protestant martyrs with Henry Bull, Foxe added them as textual monuments at the end of biographical accounts of the acts that led up to their death. In accounts illustrated with woodcuts, portrayals of execution typically function as a hinge between the conclusion

⁶⁹ Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, "The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*," in *JFER*, p. 71; citing 1570, pp. 534, 617, 621, 661, and Reg. Courtenay (Lambeth Palace Library), fol. 337^v.

⁷⁰ Wabuda, "Henry Bull," p. 249; Freeman, "Publish and Perish," pp. 235–36.

of narratives and appended letters. Contributing to the massive expansion of the 1570 version, these transcriptions prop up the book's claim to plausibility. Imprisoned martyrs were not wholly somber in their letter writing, because they frequently emulated St. Paul's counsel concerning the affliction of faithful believers: "Let us even exult in our present sufferings, because we know that suffering trains us to endure, and endurance brings proof that we have stood the test, and this proof is the ground of hope" (Rom. 5:3–4).⁷¹ In letters sent from prison, John Bradford advised correspondents to be "Bee mery in the Lord." In writing to Bradford and his fellow prisoners at the King's Bench in Southwark, Nicholas Ridley affirmed that "We shal by Gods grace one day meete together, and be merry."⁷² Rampant punning within correspondence between John Philpot and John Careless constitutes an outstanding example of verbal merriment. Philpot's wordplay on the name of his correspondent does not diminish the sobriety of the counsel concerning repentance:

Since God hath willed you at your baptisme in Christ to be *carelesse*, why doe you make your selfe *carefull*: Cast all your *care* on him . . . I am *careles*, being fast closed in a paire of stockes, which pinche me for very straitnes: and wil you be *careful*? . . . Pray, I beseech you, that I may be stil *careles* in my *careful* estate, as you have cause to be *carelesse* in your easier condition. Be thankful and put away all *care*, and then I shall be joyfull in my straite present *care*."

Apologizing for his "Metaphoricall speach," Careless informs Philpot that he is "disposed to be mery" when he alludes to biblical texts in the crafting of soteriological puns in the face of death:

Oh, my good M[aster] Philpot, which art a principall *pot* in deede *filled* with most precious liquor . . . Oh *pot* most happy, of the high *Potter* [i.e., God] ordeined to honour, whiche doest containe suche heavenly treasure in the *earthen vessell*: Oh *pot* thrise happy, in whome Christ hath wrought a greate miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine . . . When Martyrdome shall break thee (O *vessell* of honour) I know the fragrant savour of thy precious Narde will much rejoyce the heavy hartes of Christes true members.⁷³

⁷¹ On the pervasive use of Pauline epistolary conventions in letters of the martyrs, see John R. Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563–1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 87–93.

⁷² 1583, pp. 1651, 1725.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1834, 1921; emphasis added.

In writing down accounts of their interrogation and imprisonment, Protestant martyrs followed in the footsteps of Anne Askew and Lollard prisoners who preceded her. Among abundant examples, we may note that Foxe acknowledges “besydes these letters of Byshop Ridley, divers[e] other tractations also . . . written by hym, partly out of prison, partly in prison” (1583, p. 1730). Readers encounter John Hooper’s detailed account concerning his incarceration at Fleet Prison. Concerning the heresy examinations of Richard Crashfield, Foxe observes that “as he penned them with hys owne hand, so have we faythfully recorded the same” (p. 2010). George Marsh, a onetime farmer who went to the University of Cambridge and became a curate, “recorded with his own penne” an account of his imprisonment in the grounds of the house of the Bishop of Chester (1570, p. 1731). So also, Foxe bases his account of Thomas Hawkes, a martyr who renounced a profligate life that he had lived at the royal court, on “hys examinations and aunswers had with B[ishop] Boner, recorded and penned with his own hand” (p. 1758). Richard White regrets that he is unable to write up more than one transcription: “This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no tyme now to write out” (1570, p. 2255). In addition to a sequence of epistolary letters to his wife and others, Robert Smith leaves a first-person account of his interrogation (1563, pp. 1252–59). Like some of his fellow prisoners, Richard Woodman composes a highly circumstantial account of his arrest and imprisonment with an eye to manuscript publication for a readership made up of fellow believers whom he addresses familiarly in the first person: “Gentle reader here you shal perceave how the scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of his poore lambes” (1570, p. 2171). Foxe repeatedly assures his audience that his transcriptions come from documents “wrytten and copied with hys owne hande” (1563, p. 1579).

Because of the laxity, sympathy, or venality of jailers, it was relatively easy to gain access to prisoners. Few restrictions were imposed on oral communication, and bearers moved in and out of jail with considerable freedom as they delivered handwritten letters and treatises back and forth among inmates and their friends and relatives on the outside.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, authorities did engage in an often fruitless effort to stamp out the propagation of heretical manuscripts. In the case of John Rogers, for example, the *Book of Martyrs* contains a colorful story about his successful transcription

⁷⁴ Freeman, “Publish and Perish,” pp. 236–37.

of one of his own heresy examinations. Foxe attributes its survival and publication in print, despite a strict search “to take away his letters & writyngs,” to the intervention of divine providence. After Rogers died at the stake, his wife and one of their sons visited Newgate Prison in order to search for concealed manuscripts. The son discovered a concealed manuscript that his father had “penned with his owne hand . . . in a blynd corner under a payre of stayres” (1570, p. 1663). In addition to this document, Foxe incorporates Rogers’s second confession and other miscellaneous writings. According to the compiler’s note, the translation of Rogers’s condemnation from Latin into English should serve the reader as a template for “all other Sentences condemnatory” delivered against the Marian martyrs (1570, pp. 1661–62). A first-person transcription of Rogers’s heresy examination survives in fragmentary form among the compiler’s papers.⁷⁵

Authorities attempted to deny prisoners access not only to books and papers, but also to writing materials. During his second heresy examination before Bishop Stephen Gardiner, John Bradford accordingly reproached the Lord Chancellor for denying him “Paper, penne, and ynke” (1563, p. 1191). In a letter to his wife, Mary, Robert Glover laments that jailers denied him paper, pen, ink, and books, “savynge my newe Testament in Latine, and a prayer booke which I prively stole” into prison (1570, p. 1889). Ralph Allerton expresses regret to Richard Roth, his fellow martyr, that he cannot keep a copy of his circular letter for want of paper. During interrogation, authorities accused Allerton of writing a letter that mentions his concealment of not only a knife, but also books and letters. They also alleged that he had written with chalk on a wooden trencher and boards (p. 2213). Within a first-person narrative concerning his apprehension and imprisonment, Richard Woodman notes that he escaped capture by hiding out in a wood near his home for a period of several weeks. Sustained by his wife, who brought food to him every day, he took pains to hide “my Bible, my penne and myne incke, and other necessities” beneath a tree (p. 2173). Other prisoners speak of searches for prohibited books. John Lithall accordingly notes that authorities seized his own books, in addition to others entrusted to him by William Living (p. 2266). He earlier reports that Bonner’s jailer, Clooney, “brought me to his owne house in Pater noster Rowe, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a new testament of Geneva” (p. 2265).

⁷⁵ MS Harley 421, no. 20.

An inveterate copyist and correspondent, John Philpot recorded a total of fourteen examinations from memory. During the course of one interrogation, he observes that a jailer conducted a body search that resulted in confiscation of his writing case, inkhorn, belt, and knife. Because of the dimness of light where he was locked in prison and the confiscation of writing materials and manuscripts, the woodcut portrayal of this prisoner with book in hand before a jailer seems decidedly unrealistic (Figure 47). Despite mixed feelings, he notes that he had the presence of mind to dispose of “many a swete letter & frendly” within a privy. Nevertheless, he preserved the manuscript of his sixth examination by concealing it within his garments. It escaped detection when the jailer, having noted that he had secreted papers on his person, was content to seize “two letters y^t wer not of any great importaunce.” When a second jailer decided to search him more closely, he craftily concealed his treasured transcription and substituted “al the letters I had in my purse” for it (1563, p. 1419). He reports that during his eleventh examination, Bishop Bonner claimed to have pieced together one of the letters that he had torn up in order to evade detection. Philpot, in turn, complained that jailers had seized his ink and writing case, and denied him not only a fire, but also a candle to see or read by during his imprisonment in a coal house in the grounds of the bishop’s palace. Bonner acknowledged that the keeper prevented a servant from smuggling in a “bladder of black powder” that Philpot identifies as the raw material for ink (p. 1428). In a letter written “Out of the Colehouse” to his friend, John Careless, who was a prisoner at the King’s Bench, Philpot explains why he has not written sooner: “the cause is our strait [i.e., strict] keping and the want of light by night, for the day serveth us but a while in our darke closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations, and I am faine to scribe it out in hast” (1570, p. 2004).

Over and beyond prisoners’ employment of chalk, coal, pin pricks, or leading from casement windows as alternatives to ink or nibs of pens, letters in the *Book of Martyrs* claim that they employed blood as their most exotic writing material. Crespin concurs that Protestant martyrs sometimes wrote letters in blood.⁷⁶ These references resonate with ubiquitous figurative references to the shedding of Christ’s blood and to blood letting as a mark of martyrdom (see Rev. 17:6). Scriptural tropes of this kind are

⁷⁶ See Knott, *Discourses*, p. 87 and n. 9. Ernst Curtius notes that writing in blood is an early Christian martyrological trope, in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon, 1953), p. 312.

noteworthy in a letter in which John Careless supplies Harry Adlington, a prisoner in Lollard's Tower, with answers appropriate for memorization prior to his forthcoming heresy examination. Addressing him as "one of his seely [i.e., silly or innocent] shepe appointed to the slaughter," Careless advises him to rehearse testimony in which he will attest to his obedience to "godly Preachers and Prophetes . . . as have sealed their doctrine with their blood" (1570, p. 2111). Careless counsels Adlington to threaten that his accusers are vulnerable to divine judgment "for al the innocent blood that is shed within this Realme" and to represent himself as a Christlike "sheepe brought to the Shambles [i.e., butcher's stall], abiding the grace of the Butcher" (p. 2111). Foxe attributed the transcription of the examination of Ralph Allerton at Fulham Palace to a manuscript actually "wrytten by him selfe, wyth his owne blood" (1583, p. 2014). The compiler notes further that this lay preacher, who was soon to be burnt in Islington, employed "blood, for lacke of other inke" in writing a letter to a prisoner named Agnes Smith, who was later burnt at Colchester (1563, p. 1627). During interrogation, Allerton reported that his fellow prisoner, Richard Roth, supplied him with blood by making his nose bleed (p. 1629). (These reports are consonant with Roth's figurative attack on Bonner as a "bloudye boucher [i.e., butcher], tirant, and ravening woulfe.") Roth is reported to have used blood in order to describe how they await death "in fetters and stockes" to condemned prisoners in Colchester (p. 1631). In a sequence of letters filled with references to the shedding of Christ's blood, William Tymes reports that he will employ his own blood in order to sign a letter to his parishioners as a spiritual testimonial (1570, p. 2078). Foxe laments that little documentation survives concerning the imprisonment and martyrdom of John Hullier, a minister in Cambridge, but he does include a congregational letter in which he states: "And I do not onely wryte this, but I will also . . . ratify, and confirme, and seale the same wyth the effusion of my blood."⁷⁷

Although martyr stories have received more attention than any other component in the *Book of Martyrs*, readers have devoted relatively little attention to the contribution of the multitude of informants, including eyewitnesses, whose manuscripts supplied Foxe with climactic descriptions of the burning of martyrs.⁷⁸ Once again, the single-author model

⁷⁷ 1570, p. 2089. After lodging inquiries at Cambridge, Foxe included a detailed account of Hullier's execution on pp. 2196–97. See Freeman, "Texts, Lies, and Microfilm," p. 38.

⁷⁸ Thomas Freeman's series of essays on Foxe's sources represent a singular exception to this observation.

fails to account for the habits of compilation that resulted in the *Book of Martyrs*. The construction of the well-known story about the execution of Latimer and Ridley on 16 October 1555 provides a case in point. Within a collection renowned for its inclusion of moving words spoken by martyrs prior to execution, the most famous utterance of all may be an impassioned speech attributed to Hugh Latimer: “Be of good comfort M[aster] Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day lyght such a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I trust) shall never be put out.” Many readers have taken it as a clarion call of the English Reformation. The absence of this speech from the first edition raises a textual problem, because we do not know who supplied the words that the reader first encounters in the 1570 version (p. 1937).

Latimer’s consolatory words constitute a retrospective addition to accounts provided by George Shipside, who was Ridley’s brother-in-law, and Augustine Bernher, a Swiss student of theology who served as Latimer’s amanuensis and attended him during imprisonment. Ridley had reported to Grindal that Shipside, as his servant, “hath bene almost halfe a yere in prison, for delivering (as hee was accused) of certaine things, I weene, from me” (1570, p. 1902). Shipside is the most likely source for circumstantial details within a narrative that refers to him repeatedly, to the point of describing his horrified response to this execution. He attempted to hasten the death of his brother-in-law by trying to increase the intensity of the fire. Like Shipside, Bernher was a bearer of books and manuscripts to and from prison. A likely presence at the execution scene, he later compiled *Twenty-seven Sermons Preached by . . . Master Hugh Latimer*, which John Day published in 1562. Bernher abbreviates his account of Latimer’s martyrdom in the dedicatory epistle “because theise thinges be at large described in the booke of the martyrs” (§1^v). Not only does this reference serve to advertise the forthcoming publication of the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, it also indicates that Bernher collaborated with Foxe on the collection. Indeed, the 1563 version contains a verbatim transcription from Bernher’s dedication to the edition of sermons.

In the case of Latimer’s stirring counsel to Ridley, one may legitimately question the authenticity of an uncorroborated speech that entered into the printed record fifteen years after the event in question. It may be that these words comprise Foxe’s contribution, in the form of an artful embellishment, to a death narrative that constitutes anything but a seamless narration. The words attributed to Latimer allude in part to Eusebius’s account of “a voice from heaven” that called out “‘Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man,’” thus stiffening the resolve of a second-century saint and

martyr as he entered a Roman arena in order to face death. The aged Bishop of Smyrna, who was burnt alive during the fifth persecution, affords a suitable model for the former Bishop of Worcester, whose decrepitude heightens the pathos of his death narrative. These details underscore the all-consuming argument lodged by Protestant propagandists that martyrs for their religious cause are direct descendents of early Christian forerunners. Nevertheless, "the fact that Foxe allowed such details to be included . . . does not mean that he invented them or added them to shape reports supplied by his informants." They may reflect typological commonplaces that permeated thinking within a sizeable community engaged in the writing and dissemination of stories that heroize latter-day martyrs. These individuals included the martyrs themselves, surviving witnesses, and reporters, in addition to Foxe and those with whom he collaborated in compiling the *Book of Martyrs*.⁷⁹

By inserting a marginal gloss, "The Church lightened by the Martyrdome of Saintes," Foxe calls attention to the figurative nature of this epigrammatic utterance. Indeed, this note resonates with the work of an artful hand that silently incorporates an allusion to the Sermon on the Mount, in which Christ states: "You are light for all the world. A town that stands on a hill cannot be hidden. When a lamp is lit, it is not put under the meal-tub, but on the lamp-stand, where it gives light to everyone in the house. And you, like the lamp, must shed light among your fellows, so that, when they see the good you do, they may give praise to your Father in heaven" (Matt. 5:14–16). This allusion to a gift that cannot be hidden bears a relationship to the scriptural motto uttered by Latimer *in extremis*: "Well, there is nothyng hid but it shalbe opened" (Matt. 10:26).⁸⁰ Jesus uttered this aphorism by way of warning against fear of persecutors prior to a further admonition: "Do not fear those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Fear him rather who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt. 10:28). Latimer's parabolic counsel of comfort, strength, and consolation suggests that he, or the source who set forth Foxe's account of his burning, styles this martyrdom as a latter-day crucifixion. The motto implies that he and Ridley join together in martyrdom that confers on them the status of latter-day apostles. The well-known imagery of this passage corresponds to *Christ the Light of the World*, an engraving designed

⁷⁹ Freeman, "Texts, Lies, and Microfilm," pp. 42–45. See also Collinson, "Truth, Lies, and Fiction," p. 53; King, "Fiction and Fact," pp. 22–24. Eusebius records the speech of St. Polycarp in *Ecclesiastical History*, 4.15.17.

⁸⁰ 1570, p. 1937.

by Hans Holbein. In this evangelical picture, Christ reveals the “true” light of the Gospels signified by a candle flame to a gathering made up of the poor, humble, meek, and pious. Modeled on the Eight Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–12), their experience is opposed to that of a throng of Roman Catholic clerics who turn from “truth” toward Hell.⁸¹

In supplying Foxe with material, Shippside and Bernher were not alone. Many informants supplied the compiler with eye-witness reports. Such individuals made no editorial decisions, but the “typology, characterizations, and narratives of various episodes . . . are at least partially their creations.”⁸² For example, a report from Bernher enabled Foxe to supplement Robert Glover’s own account of his heresy examination with details concerning the wavering of this condemned man in the face of death: “Wherupon he fearing in him selfe, lest the Lord had utterly withdrawen his wonted favour from him, made his mone to this Austen [i.e., Bernher] his frend above remembred, signifiyng unto him, how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receave no motion nor sense of any comfort from him.” Bernher’s response recalls the dying speech attributed to Latimer: “Unto whom the sayd Austen aunswering againe, willed and desired him paciently to waite the Lordes pleasure, and how soever his present feelyng was, yet seyng his cause was just & true, he exhorted him constantly to sticke to the same, & to *play the man*, nothing misdoubtyng but the Lord in his good time would visite him, & satisfie his desire with plenty of consolation” (1570, p. 1891; emphasis added). Foxe further acknowledges that he conveys a story concerning the experience of a nineteen-year-old apprentice “as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own brother (who beyng present with his brother William, and never left him till his death, sent the true reporte therof unto us)” (1570, p. 1712). The highly circumstantial story of Rawlins White, an illiterate fisherman who expounded memorized texts from the Bible as a lay preacher, was “reported by John Dane being yet alyve, who was almost continually with hym duryng his trouble, unto his death” (1570, p. 1726). The story about William Tyms, Deacon and Curate of Hockley is of considerable narratological interest, because it is told from the vantage point of an omniscient narrator who records the responses of many individuals beginning with Master Tyrrel, who felt outraged by the preaching of illicit sermons within woods that he owned. In addition to his

⁸¹ R. W. Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*”: *Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), fig. 33.

⁸² Freeman, “Texts, Lies, and Microfilm,” p. 40.

thoughts and actions, this story records details concerning and speeches delivered by a villager named John Gye and Richard Sheriff, whom Tyrrel employed as a servant (p. 2075). Other reports include the story of Thomas Benet “collected and testified by John Vowell, alias Hoker” (1570, p. 1180) and narratives by many other reporters.

E. Editing and glossing: from manuscript to print

Foxe and his associates gathered an abundance of documents into the different configurations found in the four editions of the *Book of Martyrs* published during his lifetime. He was not a neutral transmitter, because he reshaped accounts already molded by informants. Setting documents within an overarching narrative framework, he shaped the collection through the provision of prefaces, introductions to particular sections, transitions, marginal glosses, and varied forms of commentary and para-text. When we are able to compare the printed texts with extant manuscripts, we find that Foxe's narratives generally accord with the details found in his sources. Like his colleague, Henry Bull, he tended to adapt material by means of omission, rather than commission. Rather than “invent, or even embellish this material,” Foxe usually relied on abridgement or editing to suppress or delete text.⁸³ John Day collaborated in differentiating Foxe's contribution from his sources by means of internal evidence, changes in founts, or type sizes. Prefaces in a book produced by a Hugh Singleton exemplify how Foxe collaborated in the editorial process. The printer explains how he initiated republication of a treatise when he “requested of M[aster] Foxe, of whom I fyrste received it, that it would please him to reviewe the same, with such profitable additions as to him should seeme meete for the benefite of the godly reader.” Foxe, in turn, acknowledges that “being broughte to mee by the Printer, I was desired to take a litle paines in perusing the same. Whereunto, to satisfie the request both of hym, and certaine others, which semed desierous of the booke, I was contented to graunt.”⁸⁴

Foxe's commentary on the experience of Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley affords insight into how he goes about structuring an exemplary martyrology:

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Urbanus Regius, *A Necessary Instruction of Christian Faith and Hope* (1579), trans. John Foxe, 2nd ed., A2^v-3^r.

And thus haste thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Mayster Rydley and of master Latimer . . . with all theyre doings, wrytinges, disputations, sufferings, their paynfull traouvayls, faithfull preachings, studyous servyce in Christes church, their paciente imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, wyth al other theyre proceedings from tyme to tyme, since their first institution, to this presente yeare and moneth of Quene Marye, beinge the moneth of October, Anno.1555. In the which moneth they were bothe brought fourth together to their final examination and execution.

These parallel biographies fulfill the compiler's formulaic gathering of stories about their acts, on the one hand, and textual monuments including memorial reconstructions of their heresy examinations, on the other hand. He fuses these standard elements into the unusual joint account of the end of their life: "Wherefore as we have heretofore declared bothe their lyves severallye, and distinctlye one from the other, so now joynning them both together . . . concerninge their later [i.e., latter] examination, disgrading, and constante martirdome" (1563, p. 1356). Concluding with a coda consisting of "their letters & other wrytings of theirs expressed," Foxe notes further that he contemplates separate publication of writings by Ridley that he has withheld from the *Book of Martyrs*: "Divers and sondry other treatises of his remaine also in my hand both in Latine and English, wherof ye shall see (God willing) the effect and contents, in the forepromised Appendix, which I purpose by the Lordes grace after the finishing of these stories, to adjoyne" (1570, p. 1950).

Having compiled material on figures such as Latimer and Ridley, Foxe and his associates were responsible for the marking up of manuscripts from which Day's compositors set type in formes prior to printing. Surviving papers indicate that Foxe and Henry Bull went far toward fulfilling an unrealistically high standard that Joseph Moxon set for the compiler or author in preparing copy for typesetting: "Therefore it behooves an author to examine his copy very well e're he deliver it to the printer, and to point it, and mark it so as the compositor may know what words to set in italic, English [i.e., black letter], capitals, etc. . . . in all particulars he takes care to deliver his copy perfect: For then he may expect to have his book perfectly printed." A century after the time of Foxe and Day, Moxon flourished as a printer, publisher, and bookseller who specialized in the production and sale of globes, celestial spheres, atlases, sea plats, and books filled with tables and illustrations on technical subjects such as typography, astronomy, mathematics, chronology, and architecture. It is most appropriate that he sold atlases at the sign of Atlas, which advertised his shops at varied locations in London and its environs,

including the center of government at Westminster. His skill at the construction of sea charts led to his appointment as Royal Hydrographer. Moxon's publication on the technology of varied trades prepared him for the compilation of the most detailed English account of the printing of books during the era of the hand-operated press. In his view, essential tasks include provision of correct punctuation and insertion of markings to indicate type founts, capitalization, paragraph breaks, and so forth. Moxon assumes that the preparation of copy includes checking whether transcriptions in foreign languages are letter perfect, because the compositor is obliged to set type for "letters, points and characters [that] he finds in his copy."

With the exception of Foxe's negligence concerning the stricture against revision of the text at the proof stage – "For by no means he ought to hope to mend it in the proof, the compositor not being obliged to it" – evidence indicates that he came close to living up to the ideal model articulated by Moxon.⁸⁵ The caches of manuscripts that Henry Bull edited in collaboration with Foxe accordingly exemplify the attention that they devoted to marking up copy prior to the composition of type. These papers bear scrawled instructions to compositors, crossed-out passages, cross-references to printed books, manicules (i.e., pointing fingers) that supply special emphasis, and so forth.⁸⁶ As a rule, they tended to edit out particular details in order to broaden the applicability of these texts to "godly" conduct in general. Indeed, Foxe and Bull subjected these letters to a degree of "editorial control . . . so thorough that it stopped just short of being obsessive." In some cases, they altered the gender of correspondents of the martyrs in order to bring documents into conformity with patriarchal attitudes. Not only did they expurgate personal details that hinted at improprieties such as unduly emotional attachments between unmarried correspondents, they also deleted passages and added material in order to eliminate indications that some Marian prisoners harbored heterodox opinions on theological topics such as free will.⁸⁷ In the case of a letter of 14 February 1555 to Henry Hart and several associates who

⁸⁵ *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)* by Joseph Moxon, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 250. I derive the biographical information concerning Moxon from imprints of his books.

⁸⁶ Wabuda, "Henry Bull," p. 248. On the printer's marks employed in preparing manuscript copy for printing, see Julian Roberts and Elizabeth Evenden, "Bibliographical Aspects of the *Acts and Monuments*," in *A&M* (online).

⁸⁷ Freeman, "Publish and Perish," p. 253. I am grateful to Dr. Freeman for personal communication concerning the editorial habits of Foxe and Bull.

believed in free will rather than predestination, for example, a considerable amount of material is designated for expurgation with the characteristic mark of underlining. John Bradford wrote this anguished warning against “romish yea Antichristian religion” as he awaited the arrival of the order for his execution.⁸⁸ The eventual failure of both Foxe and Bull to publish this missive suggests that they were reluctant to publish documents indicative of divisiveness among Protestants. Comparison of texts with printed exemplars reveals that Foxe frequently altered them in order to enhance their polemical effect. He dedicated close attention to technical matters such as the provision of breaks between paragraphs. His “active editing” enhances the pacing and narrative sequence of his transcription of Askew’s *Examinations*, for example.⁸⁹

Of especial interest are letters written by John Philpot to Lady Elizabeth Vane, which survive in collections of correspondence in the handwriting of Marian martyrs (see Figure 6).⁹⁰ One missive bears creases that reveal how it was once folded into a small wad. A bearer may have compressed it in order to smuggle it out of prison. Philpot’s seal is missing, but its red mark is clearly visible. Even though he complained about deprivation of writing materials and candles, he clearly possessed them when he wrote this letter on 20 August 1555. Inscribing it in his bold secretary hand, not long before his condemnation for heresy, Philpot sent it to an aristocratic woman whom Foxe describes as “a speciall Nourse and a great supporter to her power of the godly Saintes, which were imprisoned in Q[ueen] Maries time” (1570, p. 1824). Addressing this letter “To the elect lady of god and my welbeloved sister in ye gospell of Jesus Christ,” a title that Foxe chose not to carry over into print, Philpot encourages his widowed friend to endure persecution. Philpot and Lady Vane had moved within the orbit of the court of Edward VI, where her late husband, Sir Ralph Vane, was a prominent member of the entourage of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, who governed England in a quasi-regal manner at the outset of his nephew’s reign as a minor.⁹¹ After the decapitation of Protector Somerset early in 1552, Ralph Vane met the same fate on Tower Hill. Her patronage of Robert Crowley and John Bale situated her in close proximity to circles within which Foxe moved.

⁸⁸ BL MS Add. 19,400, fol. 34v. On this general subject, see Freeman, “Dissenters from a Dissenting Church.”

⁸⁹ Sarah E. Wall, “Editing Anne Askew’s *Examinations*: John Bale, John Foxe, and Early Modern Textual Practices,” in *JFHW*, pp. 249–62, citing p. 256.

⁹⁰ MS Add. 19,400, fol. 50^{r-v}. Other letters are at ECL. See Freeman, “Good Ministry,” p. 9 n. 2.

⁹¹ *ERL*, pp. 97, 113, 477.

Like other pieces in the manuscript miscellany in which it is found, this letter was once in the ownership of Foxe. Some items in this volume passed through the hands of Bull, but *Comfortable Letters* does not include this particular missive. The heavily marked-up version that Foxe incorporated into the 1570 edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (p. 2010) offers considerable insight into his editorial practices. For example, written instructions demonstrate how he expurgated this letter. Virgules inserted in the margin of the recto side indicate that the intervening passage, which he marks with a wavy line in the margin, should not appear in the printed text. The compositor followed this instruction by substituting a diminutive “&c” in the printed text in place of the following manuscript passage:

Rejoyse my own bowels in Christ, y^t yo^u now behold yo^r selff fancyfull in dead [i.e., deed], and not in name onely. How fast that heavenly knowlege wth yo^u hath, sir surmontyng all y^r pleasure and treasure off this world: this is that precious honi for y^u wth y^r muste sell all, yo^u have tawght him hym let no wor[l]dely exchange countervaille y^r same, I speak not this as tho[u]gh I had any Dowbt / but y^s wordle [i.e., worlde] in y^e w^{ch} we are is a continuall temtation and owre very familiars in y^e flesh are owre most ennemis. this for as a manly woman in y^e lords battell, hold owt yo^r bucklir off faith y^t y^u may to y^r end stand and overcum. and y^t yo^r ladyship might y^e better so do, I have sent yo^u a comfortable sermon off M^r Ihon Calvyn w^{ch} I have rudely translated owt off ffrenche, Iff yo^u well way [i.e., weigh] y^e sentencis I thynke they will be to yo^r singular confort as the same hath been unto me in this perilous daie off owre body, but glorius both to sowle and body hereafter . . .

It seems likely that Foxe deleted this material because these sentiments might appear to be overly intimate. Even the expurgated version printed in the *Book of Martyrs* intermingles sacred and profane love in a way that verges on indelicacy. Further bracketing within this manuscript indicates that Foxe reversed his original plan to delete another passage. Marking-up of an additional passage indicates that Foxe originally considered inclusion of a marginal gloss that never found its way into print. He may have inserted “&c” in order to omit Philpot's request for a stole bearing red crosses either on iconoclastic grounds or because it might seem indelicate: “And If I shall be below w^t you according to yo^r request I pray yo^u to mak me a stole of glory w^t a red cros before and an other behynd in token y^t to y^e fyer I entend by gods grace to show my selff a faithfull soldiour to y^e lord.” We may note Foxe's discomfort, furthermore, in an omission from the printed text of a pre-execution letter from Philpot to Vane in which the prisoner linked their initials to a drawing of a valentine. At the very least, this inscription proclaims quasi-erotic affection in keeping with

conventional declarations of courtly love. By excluding this material, Foxe immunized the printed version against the common polemical accusation that Protestant martyrs engaged in illicit relationships with women who sustained them in prison.⁹²

Further markings on Philpot's 20 August 1555 letter demonstrate Foxe's careful attention to the designation of the appropriate type fount and addition of paratext. At the middle of the folio, Foxe underlines four lines for printing in italics. On the printed page, this passage is flanked by an italicized designation of the source that is not in the manuscript: "Rom. 8." It follows a marginal gloss that Foxe writes in by hand: "A perfect Christen man how he is knowne." The italicized passage precedes a marker for a paragraph break that appears in print. Two handwritten glosses follow on the verso side: "The tyme of tribulation but for a christian, then y^e tyme of joye" and "Philpot wayteth for a shirt to burne in w^t a rede crosse before, and behind." The first makes its way into print, but the second does not because Foxe decided to delete the passage to which this note refers. The compiler inserts other notes within boxes: "An other letter of Joh. Phil. to y^e lady Vane" and "Lady Vane a liberal benefactor to Gods saintes." The first supplies a title for the printed text, in place of a line that is crossed out at the top of the recto side of the manuscript letter. The compositor inserted the second as a marginal gloss that calls attention to Philpot's expression of gratitude for the gifts that his familiar friend has sent to him in prison.

Casting off marks demonstrate that this manuscript is the copy from which the compositor set type. The following notation accordingly instructed the compositor who imposed type within the forme to begin the second column on page 2010, which represents the twelfth page in a folio signature gathered in sixes (i.e., yyyy6^v):

2 col 12

yyyy

Odd and even numbers respectively indicate recto and verso sides of printed pages. The crowding of the typesetting at this point corresponds to an effort to squeeze the requisite portion of text into the small space that remains at the very end of this signature. Underlining marks the approximate end of the printed page. A vertical line represents an instruction to

⁹² ECL MS 260, fol. 184^r. As quoted in Sarah Covington, "The Heresy Examinations of John Philpot: Defiance, Bold Speaking and the Making of a Martyr," *Reformation* 7 (2002), pp. 88–89, 126. On the elimination of personal details by Foxe and Bull, see Freeman, "Good Ministry," pp. 24–25.

provide a paragraph break at line 9 of page 2010. Foxe then overwrites the letter "g" in order to capitalize "Good Lady" (fol. 50^r, l. 24).

The careful attention that Foxe paid to the provision of paratext for Philpot's letter exemplifies how he employs marginal notes in order to offer assistance and to attempt to channel the responses of different categories of readers. Indeed, the library at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, preserves detached slips of paper on which the compiler collaborated with Bull in affixing to papers that they worked up for typesetting. They include instructions to compositors and editorial glosses for insertion in the margins of the printed pages. Manuscript notations of this kind contribute to the complex array of printed notes that we encounter in the *Book of Martyrs*.

Marginal notations in the *Book of Martyrs* include ideologically neutral glosses such as place indicators, which direct the attention of readers inward to specific passages, or outward via annotations that refer to Bible texts and other authorities including contemporary tracts (e.g., writings by William Tyndale). Foxe's most emphatic place indicators rely on imperatives such as "Marke well this catholique doctrine of the popes church, concerning remission of sinnes," and "Marke how this doctryne joyneth with Gods commaundement, and with hys worde" (1570, p. 760). The manicule (☛) constitutes a common inward reference, whose deictic force requires the reader to attend to nothing outside of the specific textual site.⁹³ Other notes contain material that supplements the text or provides contextual information. Included among such notes are lexical glosses on archaic word meanings in writings such as *The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman*, a Lollard tract that Foxe assigns to the reign of Edward III.

Cross-references invite the reader to situate particular events and circumstances within broad historical trends and patterns. Thus we encounter a systematic effort to draw typological correspondences among different eras of Christian history. For example, Foxe treats the rise of popes "from faythfull Byshops and Martyrs, to become Lords and governours over King and kingdomes" as a fulfillment of the Little Apocalypse found in 2 Thessalonians 2 (1583, p. 780). A marginal notation that the "passage of all Gods Saintes both in the old and new testament, hath bene thorough affliction" calls attention to a conviction articulated in a letter by John Bradford, who asserts that the Marian martyrs are successors not

⁹³ See William W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 75, 142. On different functions of early modern marginalia, see pp. 24–25.

only to Abel and the line of patriarchs, but also to those who have “geven cherefully their bodies to most grevous torments” on the model of saints of the “primative church” (1570, p. 1817). In the case of examinations or letters written by imprisoned Protestants, annotations direct the reader to consult letters written by different prisoners. With reference to John Philpot’s response to interrogation concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation, for example, a gloss states: “Hereof read more in the examinations of Master Bradford” (p. 1977). Cross-references of this kind may enhance the reader’s sense of the collective experience of the Marian martyrs. In other instances, glosses refer the reader to earlier editions of the *Book of Martyrs* for more complete elaboration.

Many monological notes address *literati* rather than *illiterati*. For readers at the upper end of the literacy hierarchy, Foxe often supplies explanatory glosses or citations concerning Greek or Latin quotations within the body of the text. For example, he provides a marginal citation – “Theodoretus secund[us]. dial[ogus]. contra Eutychen” – for a passage in Greek in which a patristic theologian declares that the “visible symboles” of the Eucharist “remaine in their former substaunce, figure, and forme” following sanctification (p. 1299). He regularly supplies citations for original Latin texts. Jan Hus’s commendation of John Wyclif as “a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man” accordingly carries this notation: “Wiclevus vir bonus sanctus cœlo dignus” (1570, p. 552). Not all Latin notes provide written sources, however, because Foxe also uses them to supply special emphasis. In other cases, the compiler points out logical fallacies with notes such as the following: “Fallax argumentum secundum non causam ut causam” (1563, p. 161).

In contrast to these monological notes, Foxe frames many documents by means of dialogic glosses through which he engages in polemical interchanges with controversial writings. These notes tend to fall into two broad categories of augmentation of individual texts or rebuttal of arguments within texts. Among the former, Foxe employs a range of rhetorical figures and schemes that may have enhanced a *frisson* of literary pleasure experienced during the reading of gruesome accounts of the pain and suffering of the victims of torture and persecution. For example, he draws on a familiar Gospel trope in caricaturing prelates who interrogate Sir John Oldcastle: “The wolf was hungre [i.e., hungry], he must nedes be fed with blood” (1563, p. 265). Apostrophes in Latin and English underscore horrors inflicted by persecutors. When Archbishop Arundel declares to William Thorpe his “purpose to make thee obey to the determinacion of holy church,” for example, a gloss interprets this statement as an act of

profanation: "Templum domini Templum domini" (p. 156). Of a massacre in Calais, a note exclaims: "O bloodines of Antichrist" (1570, p. 546). Another apostrophe reproves an entire community where William Thorpe underwent interrogation: "O Shreusbury thou hast a cause to repent the[e], in that thou wouldest not receyve the truth, when it was offered" (1563, p. 151). In the manner of a humanist scholar, Foxe resorts to rhetorical figures in notes such as the following chiasmic complaint: "Woe be to you that cal good evill & evill good" (1570, p. 335). Wordplay informs notes that contain quips, puns, and epigrams. A mocking gloss thus ridicules the singing of a Mass in prick-song (i.e., song from written music) during Cranmer's heresy disputations: "Masse in pikesauce, in pricksong I would say" (p. 1592). Concerning Archbishop Chicheley's admonition that "the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet," with reference to his proclamation against the Lollards, a sarcastic note replies that "You should be better occupied to shake off[f] the duste from your dustye pulpets" (p. 759). When a prelate defends veneration of the cross during Oldcastle's heresy examination – "Syr, ye wot well that he dyed on a materiall crosse" – a punning note offers this riposte: "The materiall crosse is not materiall to our faith" (p. 670). In one instance, Foxe supplies a marginal epigram – "Doctours whan y^e scripturs fayle, they begine to rayle" – to stress Oldcastle's attack on a learned interrogator (1563, p. 269).

Rebuttal notes resort to direct or indirect attack in an attempt to undermine opinions contrary to Foxe's militant principles. It may be that the former are related to pro and con disputation of the kind that Foxe engaged in as a student at the University of Oxford. Assertions concerning the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome typically inspire strident polemical attacks such as "The pope hath no power grownded upon scripture, to bring [i.e., absolve] from payne of purgatory" (1570, p. 562) and "The detestable impietie and blasphemie of the popishe lying religion" (1570, p. 860). The text of Archbishop William Courtenay's 1382 mandate against John Wyclif and his followers similarly elicits this unambiguous rejoinder: "Had ye tried them by the truth, you should have found them other wyse" (p. 535). The compiler bluntly contradicts testimony against Jan Hus with these notes: "False witnes against John Hus" and "The Cardinall sophisticateth with John Hus" (p. 721). An irreverent gloss on a papal letter announces that "The pope beginneth fyrir [*sic*] [i.e., first] with a lye" (p. 355). Foxe simply deflects the Roman Catholic interpretation of Christ's charge to Simon Peter – "You are Peter, the Rock; and on this rock I will build my church . . . I will give you the keys of the kingdom of

Heaven” (Matt. 16:18–19) – with this rebuttal of the Vulgate text: “The places *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum* . . . make nothing for the popes supremacie” (p. 800). In defense of Tyndale’s attack on the doctrine of justification by good works, a note declares: “To say that heaven is gotten by our deservinges, is a popishe heresie and contrary to the Scriptures” (p. 1429). Concerning the Constitution of Archbishop Thomas Arundel, with which he attempted to bring the Lollards to their knees in the early fifteenth century, a note proclaims: “Behold the true image of Wolves under shepes clothing” (p. 626). Frontal attacks sometimes include outright sarcasm and other heavy-handed efforts at ridicule. For example, Foxe inserts the following exclamation concerning an indulgence granted by the notorious anti-pope, John XXIII: “Smell here reader, thys made well for the popes purse” (p. 710). Crude innuendoes permeate notes such as the following riposte to Dr. John Feckenham’s interrogation of Thomas Hawkes: “Fecknams reason lyeth in Paules breches” (p. 1762).

Indirect rebuttals resort to irony in an apparent effort to belittle the religious opposition by eliciting a seriocomic response from readers. With reference to the posthumous charge that Richard Hun committed heresy in defending translation of the Bible into the English language, “which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Churche,” Foxe exclaims from the margin: “A holye mother church, which can not abide the worde of god to be translated” (1570, p. 932). In response to an epistle in which Pope Marcellus (308–309) is purported to assert the supremacy of the Church of Rome to the patriarchate of Antioch, Foxe poses a saucy question: “In what chapter or leafe in all the Byble doth the Lord commaund the sea of Peter to be translated from Antioche to Rome.” We gain insight into the rhetorical function of the glosses from the text itself, in which the martyrologist interrogates the letter in question, which he quotes *in extenso*, with an appeal to the reader to assess its validity: “Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus, that blessed martyr, in those so dreadfull dayes, I say no more, but onely desire thee (gentle reader) to judge.”⁹⁴ A sardonically anticlerical gloss – “Scripture well applyed, and lyke a Clerke” – punctuates a dramatization of Antichrist’s wresting of a scriptural text in order to exalt himself “above all that is called God” (1583, p. 789). The “abominable and ridiculous degradation” of Nicholas Ridley from episcopal office elicits this caustic gloss: “All the glittering of Antichristes kingdome, consisteth in apish toyes” (1570, p. 1375).

⁹⁴ 1583, p. 96.

Foxe consistently employs derogatory notes in order to vilify Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner, the bishops of Winchester and London who were the most highly influential persecutors during the reign of Mary I. These glosses serve to caricature these churchmen as the arch-villains of the *Book of Martyrs*. In deriding a preface that Bonner wrote for the third edition of Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* (1536), for example, fervid glosses lodge these accusations: "Bonner knewe well what morsell would best please hys father of Rome, and that money and bribes would soone stoppe hys mouth" and "Seing thou knewest the pope to be such a cruell tyrant, why then wouldest thou against thy knowledge, become his slaughterman?" (p. 1206). Because Gardiner wrote his defense of royal supremacy over the church in order to please Henry VIII during the 1530s, his renunciation of its arguments during the reign of Mary I contributed to his reputation for hypocrisy and behind-the-scenes maneuvering. Foxe comments on his alleged stratagems by means of notes such as the following: "Marke here the wyles of Winchester" (p. 1391); "Marke the mischievous fetches of this olde Foxe Winchester" (p.1426); and "Winchester walketh here subtilly" (p. 1527). When Bonner makes an assertion concerning his legal expertise, a mocking note declares: "Well cra[c]ked M[aster] Boner" (p. 1508). During the account of Bonner's own examination for heresy during the reign of Edward VI, Foxe explains how "Hooper & Latimer desire to purge themselves agaynst Boners sclauders" (p. 1508). During the account of persecution in East Anglia during the reign of Henry VI, a gloss courts anachronism by observing that "Boner myght see the church here in thys age, more then 40. yeares before he was borne" (p. 784).

Although we still encounter the view that John Foxe "wrote" the *Book of Martyrs* or constructed it single-handedly, these claims cannot withstand scrutiny. Nevertheless, he did stand at the center of a long-term enterprise that drew on the labor of manifold contributors and collaborators. Although his activity rarely involved "authorship" in the modern sense of this term, he discharged the duties of an *auctor* responsible for compiling this collection of narratives and documents. In a manner familiar from medieval chronicles, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and the *Annals* of John Stow, for example, this annalistic book underwent considerable expansion across multiple editions. Contrary to precedents set by late medieval saints' lives, which he rejected on the ground that they were little more than superstitious fables, Foxe turned to early Christian, late medieval, and contemporary writings as models for integrating new-style martyrologies into a revisionist history of the Christian church. In addition to drawing

on printed sources such as John Bale's editions of the heresy examinations of Sir John Oldcastle and Anne Askew, which derived from handwritten transcriptions that are no longer extant, Foxe and his associates worked directly from manuscripts including letters of the martyrs, a large number of which survive, and narratives that frequently contain self-referential details concerning their origination and circulation in the form of manuscripts. In addition to amending and editing documents, Foxe and his associates added marginal notations in order to afford guidance to readers, to cite sources, or to affirm or deny the veracity of documents. In attempting to channel reading and prescribe the response of readers, he collaborated closely with his publisher, John Day, in framing the text with complicated forms of paratext.

In defending the evangelical ferment of Edward VI's reign, Foxe proclaims that "*Preachers, Printers, & Players* . . . be set up of God, as a triple bulwarke agaynst the triple crown of the Pope, to bring him down."¹ He aligns printing houses with pulpits and stages as venues for the dissemination of Protestant ideology. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, contests this claim by mocking Protestants for idolizing the printing of books. Punning on the "graving" (i.e., engraving) of matrices for the casting of type, the conservative prelate facetiously declares that they violate the Second Commandment: "Thou shalt make no graven images, leste thou worshipec them, whiche (I here) is newly written in the newe churche." Foxe's scornful gloss is unamused: "If ye did see any printer yet to do worship to his graven letters, then might you well seke . . . a knotte in a rushe" (1563, p. 752). Even if he and his coreligionists did not *idolize* printing, they did *idealize* it as a potent tool for reform of both church and state. The retrospective experience of the reign of Mary I demonstrates that Roman Catholics harbored no aversion to exploiting the printing press for propagandistic purposes.² Indeed, a high literacy rate "was not a necessary effect of Protestantism."³ Nevertheless, Gardiner's forceful protest against the Protestant monopoly on printing and publication in England during the reign of Edward VI assumes that print culture was essential to the dissemination and survival of reformist ideas.⁴

Foxe's celebrated panegyrics on the printing trade reflect his standing as a protégé of printers such as Johannes Oporinus and John Day. Like many of his Protestant contemporaries, the martyrologist entertained none of

¹ 1570, DDDd3^v; see DDDd5^r. A condensation of some ideas in the present chapter appears in preliminary form in John N. King, "Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the History of the Book," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 30 (2004), pp. 171–96.

² Jennifer Loach, "Mary Tudor and the Re-Catholicisation of England," *History Today* 44 (November 1994), pp. 16–22.

³ Roger Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 122.

⁴ See John N. King, "The Book Trade under Edward VI and Mary I," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 3: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 164–78. Hereafter cited as Hellinga and Trapp.

the doubts posed by modern scholars concerning whether the advent of printing provided a necessary precondition for the Protestant Reformation.⁵ In accordance with claims that dated from the fifteenth century, a section of the *Book of Martyrs* entitled “The benefite and invention of Printyng” claims that divine providence assured the invention of printing: “Notwithstandyng, what man so ever was the instrument, without all doubt God him self was the ordainer and disposer therof.”⁶ In Foxe’s view, the rapid propagation of the vernacular Bible and treatises by reformist theologians enabled printing to “set the triple crowne so awrye on the Popes head, that it is lyke never to be set streyght agayn.” He singles out the diminishment in the price of printed books, as opposed to the high cost of manuscripts, as the chief advantage of printing.⁷ Foxe claims that printing is a divinely ordained tool for inculcating learning and religious doctrine: “It pleased God to open to man, the arte of Printyng, the tyme whereof was shortly after the burnyng of Hus and Hierome. Printyng being opened, incontinent [i.e., immediately] ministred to the Church, the instrumentes and tooles of learnyng and knowledge.”⁸ The invention of printing accordingly followed as a sequel to the persecution of the Lollards and the executions of the fifteenth-century Bohemian heretics, Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, whose martyrologies occupy a place of honor in the *Book of Martyrs*.

A. John Foxe and the printing trade

John Foxe’s long-term immersion in the printing trade prepared the way for the *Book of Martyrs*. His intimate acquaintance with printing houses in both England and continental Europe provided insight into printing practices involved in producing books both for *illiterati* and *literati*. He made his debut as a Protestant publicist when Hugh Singleton published six of his books during the brief reign of Edward VI. At this time, a torrent

⁵ Alexandra Walsham, “Domme Preachers? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print,” *Past and Present* 168 (2000), pp. 72–123. She rightly opposes the myth that “popery and the printing press should be situated in stark opposition” (p. 74).

⁶ On belief in the divine inspiration of printing, see McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 4.

⁷ 1570, DD5^{r-v}. This section is indebted to a Lutheran treatise entitled *De typographiae inventione* (Copenhagen, 1566). See David Scott Kastan, “Little Foxes,” in *JFHW*, p. 118.

⁸ 1570, DDd5^r. On Foxe’s praise of John Day and the printing trade in general, see King, “Light of Printing,” pp. 55–56, 66–67, 77–78.

of evangelical propaganda flooded bookstalls in London and the rest of England. As a publisher, Singleton commissioned the printing of these books by printers who, in all likelihood, included Steven Mierdman, a Dutch printer who had recently emigrated from Antwerp. As an advocate for social and religious reform, Foxe employed an elegant Neo-Latin style in books that respectively oppose the imposition of capital punishment for adultery and appeal for the use of excommunication in order to punish religious and social infractions.⁹ He directed the latter book to the highest levels of the Edwardian regime by addressing it to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and addresses it to “to the nobles and magistrates of the realm.” Foxe also advertised his linguistic facility by translating sermons by Martin Luther and Johannes Oecolampadius.¹⁰ In dedicating the first of these books to Henry Knock, a fellow member of the evangelical community, Foxe advocates the translation of theology from Latin into English in a way that anticipates the hybridity of the *Book of Martyrs* as a vernacular book that incorporates massive amounts of Latin text that undergo translation into English: “I culde wyshe eyther all men to be lerned in the understandyng of laten, or elles lerned men more diligent in translatyng to the vulgare tonge suche thynges as our ignorant brethren do not perceyve, bothe for the readyng of many other excellent bokes in this tonge wryten, & namely of Martin Luther, whose bookes I judge very expedyent and also necessary in Chrystes churche” (A2^r). He dedicated his translation of Urbanus Regius’s *Instruction of Christian Faith* (1548?) to his stepfather, Richard Melton.

The trajectory of Foxe’s early career was intertwined with those of two close associates, Robert Crowley and John Bale. Like Foxe, Crowley abandoned a university career because of his religious convictions. They resigned fellowships at Magdalen College, Oxford, because of their alienation from the religious conservatism of this institution during the early 1540s. Gravitating to London during the reign of Edward VI, Crowley operated a bookshop at Ely Rents, a strip of rental property in Holborn that abutted Ely Place, the London manor of the Bishop of Ely. Selling books printed by John Day,¹¹ he contributed to the flood of propaganda that followed the relaxation of restraints upon publication during the governance of Protector Somerset. It was unusual for a university-educated

⁹ *De Non Plectendis Adulteris Consultatio* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1548) and *De Censura sive Excommunicatione Ecclesiastica Rectoque Eius Usu* (London: Robert Toy, 1551).

¹⁰ STC 16983 and 18787.

¹¹ I am indebted to a personal communication from Peter W. M. Blayney.

scholar to enter into the London book trade. Crowley dedicated his talents to publication of the earliest printed editions of *Piers Plowman*, which reformers interpreted as a proto-Protestant text, and a series of tracts in verse and prose that advocate religious and social reform. Foxe's other associate was John Bale, with whom he resided at the London house of the Duchess of Richmond (see Chapter 1.B). Having recently returned from exile, this renegade Carmelite friar appears to have established a bookshop near St. Paul's Cathedral. As a habitué of printing houses in the Low Countries, he had published a sequence of vehemently anti-papist treatises and dramatic interludes.

These three bookmen departed from England after the change in religion precipitated by the death of Edward VI and before the onset of the burnings of Protestants in 1555. Entering into his second exile, Bale wrote down a stirring account of his hair's-breadth escape from Ireland, where he had been serving as a missionary bishop at the remote diocese of Ossory, in the *Vocation of John Bale*. He may have revisited Wesel, the Rhineland town in the Duchy of Cleves where Joos Lambrecht appears to have printed this book in 1553 at the behest of Hugh Singleton, who had published books by Foxe. He and Crowley moved on to Frankfurt, where the latter remained for the duration of the reign of Mary I. Proceeding to Strasbourg, Foxe carried with him a manuscript for *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum*. Publication of these commentaries on dissension within the Christian church from the time of Wyclif until the present age represents the starting point for his martyrological project. Based upon research completed under the patronage of the Duchess of Richmond, this book focuses on the suffering of Wyclif and his Lollard followers, notably Sir John Oldcastle and William Thorpe, and the executions of European reformers such as Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague, and Girolamo Savonarola. It includes a set of antipapal aphorisms attributed to Wyclif, observations on persecution extracted from writings by Bishop Reginald Pecock, and an epilogue critical of the recent reinstitution of the Roman-rite Mass at Oxford University.

Wendelin Rihel published this book in September 1554, not long after Foxe's arrival in this free city of the Holy Roman Empire. It made sense for the English émigré to approach the Alsatian printer for his debut in Latin publication geared to a continental readership made up of learned Protestants, because he specialized in the publication of humanistic scholarship and Latin and German writings by European reformers. One of the most successful and prolific master printers in the city, Rihel was a close associate of intellectuals such as Wolfgang Capito, the influential

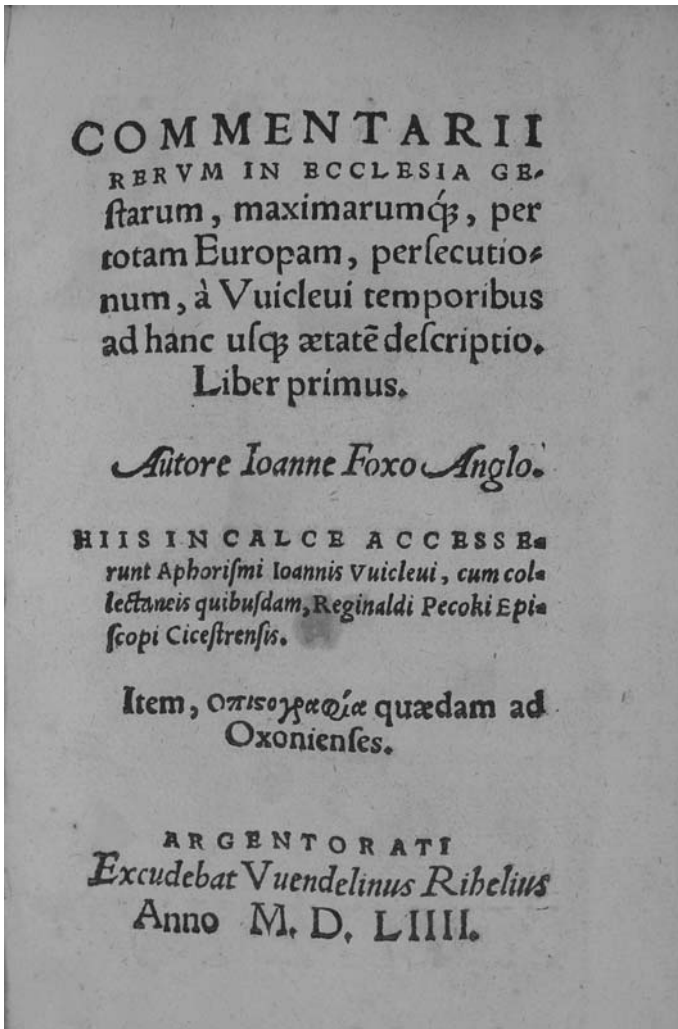
theologian and Hebrew scholar, and Johannes Sturm, the rector of the Strasbourg Gymnasium who implemented a Latin curriculum that established a model for secondary education throughout Protestant Europe. Rihel dedicated most of his printing output to the needs of this school. Indeed, the location of his shop within the doorway of the Gymnasium enabled him to sell books to passers-by at the same time that he catered to students, members of the faculty, and occasional lecturers, whose mindset was compatible with Foxe's martyrological history.¹² Theologians who taught at the Gymnasium's Upper School included not only Capito, but also Jean Calvin, Martin Bucer, Pietro Martire Vermigli, and other influential Protestant humanists. Vermigli and Bucer moved on to England to accept professorships of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge during the heyday of reform under Edward VI.¹³

Wendelin Rihel minimized his investment in this slender octavo by printing it on twenty-eight sheets of pot paper, the smallest size available. This highly affordable and portable volume might have sold for about threepence in England. The printer's caution provides a pronounced contrast to the risk assumed by John Day, who had to pay for a massive stock of paper when he printed the *Book of Martyrs*. In order to spur slow sales, Rihel's son and heir, Josias Rihel, reissued *Commentarii* in 1564 under a new title, *Chronicon ecclesiae*. The title page designates this volume as "Liber primus," but the projected second volume failed to appear. It appears that Foxe abandoned it in large part because the persecution of Protestants under Mary I generated a massive amount of material that took him several years to expand into the succeeding version of his ecclesiastical history.¹⁴ In typography and layout, *Commentarii* may seem remarkably modern to present-day readers. The roman, italic, and Greek typefaces on the title page situate this compilation "by John Foxe, Englishman" – "Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo" – within the context of continental Latin scholarship (Figure 8). Laying out the text in a single column of highly legible roman type conforms to textblock conventions for northern European publication of Latin scholarship (compare Figure 9). Printing of

¹² The contents of the OSU copy of Foxe's book (BR1600 F59 1554) are compatible with those of the book with which it is bound, Wolfgang Capito's *Responsio, de Missa, Matrimonio et Jure Magistratus* (1540), an attack on the Mass also published by Rihel and possibly sold by him at the doorway to the Strasbourg Gymnasium. The binding is constructed out of a parchment leaf removed from the Book of Judith in a late medieval manuscript Bible.

¹³ Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 4, 6, 13–14, 18–19, 25, 46–47, 194–95.

¹⁴ Mozley, pp. 119–20.



8. Title page, Foxe's *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum* (1554).

the textblock in Augustine type¹⁵ may affiliate this book with other theological books, because early printers and readers associated this type size with patristic texts. Inclusion of considerable white space results in uncrowded and highly legible text. Setting of the running title in roman capitals and use of pica italics for the dedication, epilogue, and widely

¹⁵ For printing terminology, see A Glossary of Printing Terms of the Hand-press Era, at the end of this book.

scattered marginal notes clearly differentiates between the roman textblock and paratext. Readers encounter little difficulty in navigating the text, despite the paucity of paratext, because of the highly visible intertitles for individual martyrologies.

Foxe dedicated this book to Christopher, Duke of Württemberg, who was the leader of the German Protestant movement. This appeal for patronage went unheeded, but employment by Johannes Oporinus, a preeminent Swiss printer, prepared the way for its sequel. The leading publisher in Basel, he gained a reputation for employing and publishing work by Protestant exiles attracted by this city's tolerant attitude toward religion. In company with Laurence Humphrey, a younger associate from Magdalen College, Foxe and Bale entered into Oporinus's service as learned correctors and editors. (Prior to his arrival in Basel, Humphrey had joined other English exiles in residence at the household of the Christopher Froschouer, a notable printer in Zurich with whom Foxe corresponded.) Foxe also worked in the establishment of Hieronymus Froben, a Basel printer-publisher who specialized in editions of writings by Erasmus and other humanists.¹⁶ These scholars resided in the household of Oporinus before joining the English emigrant community resident at the former monastery of Klarakloster. Their education prepared them for service as proofreaders, a position assigned to humanistic scholars. The standard set more than a century later by Joseph Moxon is clearly exaggerated, but his description of the office of a corrector rightly notes that it required polylingualism, "especially in those [languages] that are used to be Printed with us, viz. the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriack, Caldae, French, Spanish, Italian, High Dutch [i.e., German], Saxon, Low Dutch, Welch, etc."¹⁷ It is erroneous to presume that Foxe was "driven to the drudgery of proofreading" and that his service at Oporinus's printing house constituted "severe labor." The assertion that Foxe was "wretchedly poor" and lodged a "pathetic appeal" for support from Thomas Howard, the 4th Duke of Norfolk, furthermore ignores the fulsome style that suitors employed in petitions for patronage.¹⁸ Recalling that support came more often in kind than cash, we should keep in mind the fact that Foxe and his family were long-term residents not only at the households of both

¹⁶ See Greengrass and Freeman, "The *Acts and Monuments* and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies."

¹⁷ Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 246.

¹⁸ Mozley, pp. 50–53. See Percy Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 16.

Oporinus and Howard, but also at the London residence of the duke's late aunt, the Duchess of Richmond (d. c. 1555).

The learnedness of the three English correctors mirrored that of Oporinus, who had resigned a professorship in Latin and Greek in the University of Basel in order to become a printer. His irenical habit of mind rendered him a logical publisher for the revised Latin predecessor of the *Book of Martyrs*. In addition to editing writings by ancient and modern authors, Oporinus's great achievement was the publication in 1543 of Andreas Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a book filled with fine illustrations that represents the starting point in the modern study of human anatomy. In the same year, Oporinus collaborated with Theodor Bibliander, the Swiss theologian, in publishing a Latin translation of the Qur'an. Municipal authorities responded to this unusual attempt to undertake the study of non-Christian religion by placing both publisher and editor under arrest. It required the intervention of Martin Luther, who welcomed publication of this translation in order to combat heresy, to win their release. Oporinus also published *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (1554) by Sébastien Castellion, a refugee from persecution in Savoy. Responding to the burning of Michael Servetus in Geneva, he joins Foxe in arguing against the imposition of capital punishment for heresy. Although city officials banned Castellion's book, it functioned as an important early argument in favor of religious toleration.¹⁹

Oporinus collaborated with Nicholas Brylinger in order to publish the expansion of Foxe's Latin martyrology in 1559: *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum*. Attributed yet again to "Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo," this expansive account of persecution in England and Scotland moves forward to conclude with the recent burnings of Protestants during the reign of Mary I. Foxe based the most recent sections on manuscripts from England that he received via Edmund Grindal, a fellow exile resident in Frankfurt. Foxe excludes much of the continental European detail that he intermingled with British material in the 1554 version because of plans for a second volume in which Henricus Pantaleon would compile accounts of continental persecutions beginning with the burning of Jan Hus. Foxe had long since returned to his homeland when Brylinger published Pantaleon's *Martyrum historia* in 1563.²⁰

¹⁹ Hans J. Hillerbrand, et al., eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3.175.

²⁰ The Foxe and Pantaleon martyrologies are commonly bound together, as is the case in FL BR 1607 F5 1563, copy 1.

Oporinus functioned not only as an employer, but also as a patron of sorts who underwrote Foxe's ongoing research into ecclesiastical history and martyrology. This relationship exemplified the compiler's long-term reliance not only upon aristocrats, but also clerics and printers who were themselves not only dispensers, but also recipients of patronage. Oporinus published texts compiled by Foxe including *Christus Triumphans* (1556), an "apocalyptic comedy" in which the *comedic* trajectory of history governed by divine providence enfolds the *tragic* sufferings of individual Christians. Foxe geared this text to *litterati* on the continent rather than *illiterati* in England, where writings by Foxe and his fellow exiles were banned by the government. Although he addressed *Ad inclytos ac praepotentes Angliae Proceres, Ordines, & Status, totamque eius gentis Nobilitatem, pro afflictis fratribus supplicatio* (1557), an ornate supplication for intercession on behalf of his "afflicted brethren," to the English aristocracy, Oporinus published it, too, for a continental readership.²¹ In dedicating *Germaniae ad Angliam gratulatio* (1559) to the Duke of Norfolk, Foxe praises Oporinus for his willingness to publish this congratulatory address composed by partisans in Germany, England's "sister in Christ," who praised Queen Elizabeth I for restoring the "light of the Gospel" upon the death of her sister, Mary, on 18 November 1558 (pp. 3, 54).²²

Oporinus and Brylinger designed *Rerum* for a different niche in the market of learned books than the one filled by the Strasbourg installment in Foxe's martyrological history. Containing 752 pages and close to 500,000 words, *Rerum* was much more expensive than the 1554 octavo.²³ The size, price, and relative lack of portability of the 1559 folio made it suitable for acquisition by a college or cathedral library, or a substantial collection owned by a Latin-educated scholar. Important differences between the 1559 *Rerum* and its 1554 precursor include the observance of an obituary format, which follows the pattern of threefold celebration of the life, writings, and death of martyrs in the order of the date of their execution; the inclusion of commendatory poems and epigrammatic

²¹ Oporinus also published Foxe's *Locorum communium tituli* (1557), a commonplace book consisting of blank pages with topical headings on which readers could enter memorable quotations, aphorisms, and personal observations.

²² For an edition and translation, see John Wade, "Thanksgiving from Germany in 1559: An Analysis of the Content, Sources, and Style of John Foxe's *Germaniae ad Angliam Gratulatio*," in *JFHA*, pp. 157–224.

²³ The probate inventory of a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, appraised a copy at 2s in 1577 (R. J. Fehrenbach, et al., eds., *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists* (Binghamton, NY and Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 1992–98), 130.4.

PROOEMIUM DE HISTORIAE HUIUS UTILITATE ET FRUCTU.



Vum infinita adeo librorum undique prouolantium multitudine tantum non obruatur respublica literaria, superuacaneam fortassis operam quibusdam facturus uidebor, qui calamo manum his temporibus admoveam: in conscribendis praesertim historiis, quarum tam redundanti hodie copia, nec harum solum, sed omnium scriptorum turba, ceu mole quadam laborare iam mundus uideatur, ut libris lectores magis uideantur, & officinis emptores, quam illis libri & emptoribus officinae defuisse. Nec dubito, quin multi boni uiri huc scribendi & imprimendi pruritus, occulto animi gemitu iam dudum & sentiant & deplorent, at nemo profecto me ipso impensius: tantum abest, ut quisquam me leui aliquo impulsu motu & temeritate munus hoc subisse suspicetur. Accedebat porro ad hanc dubitationem par etiam uerecundia, cum timore coniuncta. Videbam enim haec quam docta essent tempora, & tacita lectorum uerebar iudicia, imprudenter nunc profligare in medium, ac personam in hoc theatro induere, qui non omnibus egregij scriptoris ornamentis instructus profiliat: qui non eximium ac singulare aliquid afferat: qui denique res non modo magnas, sed & temporis necessarias, cum pari dicendi facultate coniungens, discidium industriam, studiorum utilitatem, doctorum oblectationem explere atque augere non posset. Quas uirtutes quo longius a me abesse intellexi, hoc minus tam periculosa temeritatis aleam tentare sum ausus. Ceterum cum perpendi rursus in animo, tantam hanc tamque insignium rerum gestarum historiam, quantam nuper haec tempora, in clarissimorum Martyrum spectaculis obtulerunt, ac offerunt quotidie, non putavi committendum, ut tot rerum hominumque clarissima monumenta, omni luce dignissima, ingrato meo silentio consisterent. Dandum hoc quidem si non officio meo, at illorum egregijs meritis, laudibusque existimaui. Nec debuit hic ob stare librorum multitudo, quo minus quae uere digna sint, in uulgus exeant: Sed bonis proferendis rebus, danda potius opera, ut multitudo haec librorum, quantum fieri a nobis possit, exoleseat ac minuat. Sed omnium maxime publicae communisque utilitatis ratio permouebat, quae mihi non mediocriter sane ex sacra hac historia ad omnes peruentura uidebatur. Quod si autem in ceteris historiis tam lubenter uersari solemus, res civiles & externas pertractantibus, gaudemusque in his uarios rerum humanarum casus contemplari, ducum ac imperatorum stratagemata, bellorum fremitus, direptiones urbium, regnorum ac populorum actus considerare: nec mediocriter referre ad publicam uitae utilitatem putamus, si profanae antiquitatis memoriam, literarum monumentis comprehensam, luceque orationis ac ingenio scriptoris illustrata teneamus: quanto tum commendatiores unicuique esse par est, hominum non bellatorum, sed mitissimorum ac constantissimorum Martyrum historias, quae non aures sed uitam excolant, utilissimis exemplis informant, ac mentem denique ad omnes pietatis Christianae partes instituant. Primum enim de Deo uiuum dant testimonium contra atheos, omnesque Epicureorum sodalitates. Quemadmodum de Harpago olim dictum est a quodam, quod uiuum daret testimonium contra Deum, in cuius longa uidelicet impunitate, Deus uelut negligere res humanas uideretur. Ita in istis est diuerso uiuum & apertum habemus de Deo testimonium, quorum non in uita solum, sed & in morte multo magis, manifesta diuinitatis uis quaedam elucet, dum in tanta suppliciorum asperitate, tam constantem in eis, supra humanum modum firmitatem, in respondendo praesentiam, in uinculis patientiam, in ignoscendo pietatem, in moriendo alacritatem cernimus. Praeter multiplicem spiritus sancti sensum & experientiam, quam ipsi in uariis suis consolationibus, nosque per ipsos addiscimus, Conducit praeterea

De librorum multitudine queri monita.

Martyres uiuum dant de deo et Romani.

epitaphs composed by Foxe and members of the circle of continental humanistic scholars within which he moved; and a small number of woodcut illustrations. The book's layout and typography conform to the conventional style observed in the printing of Latin editions in England and continental Europe (Figure 9). In the printing of a solid textblock with little paratext, the Swiss printers employed a roman typeface from an Augustine fount similar to that used by Rihel for *Commentarii*. Foxe's dedication to Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, and preface concerning the "utility and profit of this history" reflect an optimistic spirit that followed the cessation of persecution of English Protestants following the accession of Elizabeth I. She received widespread acclamation for bringing persecution to a halt, despite the fact that her government executed many Roman Catholics. Inclusion of a list of errata demonstrates the attention to detail demonstrated by the corrector, presumably Foxe himself. Departing for England during the month following publication of this book in September 1559, the compiler soon took up residence at the duke's London household.

B. John Day, master printer of the English Reformation

After Foxe's return from continental Europe, he entered into collaboration with John Day on the publication of many books. Foxe received patronage not only from the Duke of Norfolk and Sir William Cecil, who was at the center of power as chief minister to Queen Elizabeth, but also, in a manner of speaking, from this printer, who employed him as a proofreader and editor. Foxe's connections to Howard and Cecil dated back to the reign of Edward VI.²⁴ Although the returned émigré lived at Christ Church, the duke's residence at Aldgate, he received correspondence "at M^r Daies the printer dwellyng over Aldersgate beneth S. martens."²⁵ In one letter, the compiler refers to his collaboration with Day as "our printing treadmill."²⁶ When Day's son, Richard, later dedicated his translation of Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* to William Howard, Lord Effingham, he reported that the late Thomas Howard, a cousin of the dedicatee, had sent Foxe, his

²⁴ Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman, "John Foxe, John Day, and the Printing of the 'Book of Martyrs,'" in *Lives in Print: Biography and the Book Trade from the Middle Ages to the 21st century*, ed. Robin Myers, et al. (London: British Library, 2002), pp. 26–27.

²⁵ BL, MS Harley 416, fol. 100^v. Another letter bears this citation: "To my very frend M^r foxe abydinge over Aldersgate at one M^r Daies the printer in London" (fol. 94^v).

²⁶ As quoted in Oastler, *John Day*, p. 26.

onetime tutor, “away safely into Germany, where in the Cittie of Basill hee became a most painefull traveller [i.e., laborer] at his pen in the house of Oporinus, that learned, and famous Printer.” Upon his return to London, Foxe is likely to have conveyed books and manuscripts as he journeyed back and forth between Aldgate and Aldersgate. Richard Day reminisces that the martyrologist journeyed “weekly every Monday, to the most worthy Printing-house of John Day: In that my fathers house many dayes and yeares, and infinite summes of mony were spent to accomplish, and consummate his English Monumentes, and other many most excellent workes in English and Latine.”²⁷

Day’s publishing career exemplifies a lifelong commitment to the dissemination of Protestant books and pamphlets.²⁸ Publication of ephemera and affordable copies of small-format books, such as *ABCs*, sermons, and metrical translations of the Psalms, provided the foundation for his prosperity, but he won renown as publisher of the *Book of Martyrs*, which constituted the most physically imposing, complicated, and technically demanding sixteenth-century English book. Although the origins of this ideologically motivated publisher are unclear, he emerged from obscurity to become an active publisher during the reign of Edward VI, when an explosion of propaganda defended the controversial imposition of a Protestant religious settlement. The source of Day’s capital is indeterminate, but he did attract the support of notable patrons at this time.²⁹ His ability to tie up capital in his single-handed printing and publication of the 1551 folio Bible edited by Edmund Becke³⁰ attests to Day’s relative freedom from financial constraint at the outset of his career. Nicholas Hill’s printing of a competing folio Bible during the same year offers an instructive contrast, because six booksellers underwrote the cost of publication.³¹

Unlike John Foxe and the other Marian exiles, Day remained in England after the death of Edward VI. He underwent imprisonment, presumably

²⁷ *Christ Jesus Triumphant* (1607), A4^{r-v}.

²⁸ The present account of Day’s career builds upon and extends findings presented by John N. King, “John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation,” in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 180–208. See also Oastler, *John Day*; Evenden and Freeman, “John Foxe,” pp. 23–54; and Bryan P. Davis, “John Day,” in *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475–1700*, ed. James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 170 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), pp. 78–93.

²⁹ On patronage during the reign of Edward VI, see *ERL*, pp. 103–13.

³⁰ *STC* 2088.

³¹ *STC* 2083–86.5.

because of his engagement in surreptitious Protestant publication. The exact circumstances of his arrest are unclear, but Henry Machyn attests that the government consigned Day to the Tower of London on 16 October 1554 for having printed “naughty” books.³² Foxe’s life of John Rogers, the Marian proto-martyr, affirms that Day encountered Rogers when they were incarcerated at Newgate Prison. Shortly before Rogers’s execution in February 1555, he is reported to have asked Day, who remained in prison until spring of the same year, to convey a cautionary message to associates who remained at liberty:

Amongest other his wordes and sayinges, which may seeme prophetically to bee spoken of him: thys also may be added, and is notoriously to bee marked that he spake being then in prison, to the Printer of this present booke, who then also was layd up for lyke cause of religion: Thou (sayd he) shalt lyve to see the alteration of thys religion, and the Gospel freely to be preached againe: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and byd them be circum-spect in displacing the Papists, and putting good Ministers into Churches, or els their ende wyll be worse then ours.³³

Foxe also confirms that Sir William Cooke was “committed to vile prison, for that he suffered this our printer to print” a prohibited book.³⁴ Cooke was the brother-in-law of William Cecil, who patronized a secret press that Day operated at Stamford in Lincolnshire during Queen Mary’s reign.³⁵ Not long before her death, Day returned to London as a trade printer who undertook books published by others.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth I, Day resumed operation at the Aldersgate premises at which he had printed books under Edward VI. Unlike many printers, he owned his business outright rather than in partnership. We lack documentation concerning the source of Day’s wealth, but it seems likely that patronage received from great magnates such as William Cecil, Matthew Parker and Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, contributed to the success of his enterprise. Functioning as a printer-publisher, he farmed some jobs out to other printers but rarely printed on behalf of other publishers. His patrons interceded to facilitate

³² Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-taylor of London, from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society 1st ser., vol. 42 (London: Camden Society, 1848), p. 72.

³³ 1570, p. 1663.

³⁴ 1563, p. 1681.

³⁵ Elizabeth Evenden, “The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004), pp. 383–94.

publication of the *Book of Martyrs* and secure Day's monopolies on some of the most often reprinted sixteenth-century English books: *The ABC with Little Catechism* and *The Whole Book of Psalms* by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others. Steady sales of these books afforded the foundation for his prosperity. In addition to holding other lucrative privileges, he served as Printer to the City of London from 1564 until his death. The massive output of Day's printing enterprise, in which he operated many presses, made him a wealthy man. In resuscitating his career as a publisher of Protestant sermons and tracts, Day monopolized publication of writings by his protégé, Thomas Becon,³⁶ which included the bestselling *Pomander of Prayer* (1558) and *Sick Man's Salve* (c. 1560). He also monopolized Augustine Bernher's two-volume quarto edition of 27 *Sermons Preached by the Right Reverend Master Hugh Latimer* (1562), which constituted a memorial of sorts to a hero of the *Book of Martyrs*.

For John Day, the printing of evangelical texts constituted a lucrative business venture. This is not to deny his commitment to the propagation of *monuments* of religious faith, which had been vulnerable to destruction prior to the advent of printing. Although religious zeal was a guiding force for his career as a printer-publisher, he organized his enterprise according to sound merchandising principles whereby he enhanced book sales by commissioning, revising, and expanding landmark editions of writings by Protestant luminaries in such a way as to supply an incentive for purchasers to acquire new editions. In every case he followed the principle of testing the market for big books by Becon, Latimer, and Foxe by first publishing single-text editions or small collections in inexpensive octavo format. His practice resembled that of Wendelin Rihel, who may have held back from publishing the projected second volume of *Commentarii* because of the poor sales of the initial octavo volume. In the case of Latimer's sermons, Day's experience with these octavos dated back to many editions that he published during the reign of Edward VI. The printer built upon the successful sales of these affordable small-format books and earlier publications when he undertook the riskier venture of publishing more expensive collections in quarto or folio format. They required a larger capital investment and sold more slowly than smaller books. Despite Becon's status as the compiler of bestselling books in octavo format, sales

³⁶ On Day's patronage, see Peter W. M. Blayney, "John Day and the Bookshop That Never Was," in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 322–43. See also Brett Usher, "Backing Protestantism: The London Godly, the Exchequer and the Foxe Circle," in *JFHR*, p. 115.

of Day's folio edition did not warrant a second edition. Day's success at marketing successive editions of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* represents a very different case, albeit one not devoid of risk.

John Day discharged what Joseph Moxon defines as "the office of a Master-Printer . . . he is the base (as the Dutchmen properly call him) on which the Workmen stand, both for providing Materials to Work withal, and successive variety of Directions how and in what manner and order to perform that Work." If he followed the ideal procedure set forth by Moxon, Day established a well-lighted printing house with a "solid and firm Foundation and an even Horizontal Floor" capable of supporting printing presses without underlays beneath their feet.³⁷ We may presume that Day, as a master who combined the functions of printer, publisher, and retailer, coordinated all aspects of his business including securing capital investment, negotiating with authors and editors, establishing house style, acquiring paper, fitting different books into a more-or-less efficient pattern of concurrent printing, paying wages, warehousing, and selling books both to stationers and to retail customers. He engaged in gathering collected works, wrote prefaces for some books, and probably assisted with proofreading.

During an era when most printers owned few hand presses, Day's enterprise was unusual in its ability to dedicate multiple presses to the printing of the *Book of Martyrs*. In 1583, for example, he operated at least four presses.³⁸ A shortage of skilled domestic workers restricted output,³⁹ because each hand press required the labor of at least two pressmen in addition to compositors and other personnel. Foxe therefore petitioned William Cecil to relax the statutory limitation on the employment of foreign printers in order to enable Day to hire more than four aliens. Dated 6 July 1570, this letter notes that Day's inability to hire more foreign workmen is preventing him from operating three presses at maximum capacity to keep up with the massive amount of printer's copy that Foxe was providing for the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs*.⁴⁰ This appeal may be somewhat disingenuous, however, because it was unprofitable for

³⁷ Discussion of the office of the master printer is indebted to Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 15, 17 ff.; and Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 163–83, et passim.

³⁸ Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, 5 vols. (London and Birmingham: Privately printed, 1875–94), 1.248.

³⁹ See Elizabeth Evenden, "The Fleeing Dutchmen? The Influence of Dutch Immigrants upon the Print Shop of John Day," in *JFHA*, pp. 63–77.

⁴⁰ BL MS Lansdowne 10, fol. 211^r.

a master printer to allow specific printing jobs to monopolize presses. Concurrent production of different books was a standard practice during the early modern era because it enabled printers to operate presses at full capacity and produce a steady flow of books of different formats. We lack grounds for suspecting that Day abandoned this convention.⁴¹

Provision of type was a challenging responsibility because of its considerable expense.⁴² Even though most of Day's books are printed in black letter, which early printers established as the standard type for books printed in England,⁴³ he enjoyed a reputation for typographical innovation in commissioning a variety of different founts. Even though he died before roman type supplanted black letter as the norm for London printing, he employed roman and italic founts in order to create contrast between the body of text set in black letter as opposed to quoted documents, titles, subtitles, headlines, tables, indices, and so forth set in subsidiary types. In addition to experimenting with publication of entire books in roman and italic type, he also employed specialized types for printing Greek, Hebrew, and music. With the exception of music, he employed a full range of typefaces in printing the *Book of Martyrs*.

The availability of skilled alien artisans presumably provided an impetus for Day to engage in typographical innovation. A 1568 certificate concerning the number of "Straungers" within the City of London indicates that Day's household sheltered François Guyot and two Dutch servants, all of whom worked as "printemakers" (i.e., type founders).⁴⁴ Guyot is renowned for producing fine typefaces and designing the earliest sets of complementary italic and roman types. It is fitting that he had found employment at the great printing establishment that Christopher Plantin, another emigrant from France, founded at the sign of the Golden Compass in Antwerp. A pioneer in the use of copperplate engravings instead of woodcuts, this printer-publisher developed a reputation for fine

⁴¹ D. F. McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing House Practices," in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S. J. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 27–31; originally published in 1969. See also Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins, Volume I: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 53–57. For an opposed view, see Evenden and Freeman, "John Foxe," p. 25.

⁴² The requirement of 225–900kg. of type stock for each printing press imposed a ceiling on production (Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 38).

⁴³ William Caxton ordered black-letter type from Paris late in his career, but Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson established it fully as the most popular English type during the 1490s.

⁴⁴ BL, MS Lansdowne 202, fol. 20^v.

typography. His greatest success was the Antwerp Polyglot Bible or *Biblia regia* (1569–73), which he printed in eight volumes under the patronage of Philip II of Spain. Day acquired matrices for type founding from Plantin. After moving to London, Guyot worked at Day's premises c. 1568–70. The Frenchman is the likely designer of fine Anglo-Saxon founts that Archbishop Parker patronized for use in editions of the *Book of Martyrs* and other books.⁴⁵

Patronage from Archbishop Parker, a connoisseur who established a private printing press at Lambeth Palace, provided another impetus for Day's fine typography. For example, the printer employed Guyot's great primer italic in two versions of Aelfric's *A Testimony of Antiquity* (1566?), edited by John Joscelyn, a secretary in service to Parker, in which the Anglo-Saxon text and English translation are printed on facing pages.⁴⁶ Day published it at the behest of the archbishop, who supplied a preface. In a letter of 13 December 1572 to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Parker refers to his commissioning of italic type: "I have spoken to Daie the printer to caste a newe Italian letter which he is doing, and it will cost him xl marke, and both he & other printers be to print my lattin booke, because they will not heare be offered, and for that Bookes printed in Englande, be in suspition abroad." ⁴⁷ This expenditure of £27 for only one of many typefaces and founts affords an index of Day's investment in type stock. In the same letter, Parker mentions that Bacon and other members of the Privy Council have asked him and his fellow bishops to assist Day. The printer employed his elegant fount of great primer Anglo-Saxon in publishing *The Gospels of the Four Evangelists Translated . . . into the Vulgar Tongue of the Saxons* (1571). Joscelyn edited it on behalf of the archbishop, and Foxe wrote the introduction.

Compositors set type in pages that they then imposed in inner and outer formes for printing on the respective sides of each sheet of unfolded

⁴⁵ H. D. L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1968), pp. 26–28; and Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography Up to About 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 95–97, 125.

⁴⁶ See John Bromwich, "The First Book Printed in Anglo-Saxon Types," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1962), pp. 265–91; and Richard W. Clement, "The Beginnings of Printing in Anglo-Saxon, 1565–1630," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91 (1997), pp. 207, 219–21, et passim.

⁴⁷ BL, MS Lansdowne 15, fol. 99^r. Although Oastler denies that this letter corroborates Parker's patronage of Day, he transcribes another manuscript that documents the archbishop's large monetary payments to Day (*John Day*, pp. 19–20 and nn. 1–5, 15). The contemporary use of "Italian" as a descriptive term for italic type contradicts Oastler's claim that Parker's letter refers to the casting of roman type (p. 31).

paper. The absence of sufficient quantities of type to keep pages standing necessitated the standard practice whereby compositors broke up and redistributed type to the cases after the printing of sheets and before composing new pages. The high cost of type stock meant that only a very few pages could be set in type at any one time. (By the 1560s, large continental printing houses owned quantities of type sufficient to abolish the practice of setting by formes.⁴⁸) Each forme contained type for two pages. Containing about 20kg. of usable type, with a remainder of 7kg. consisting of capital letters and rarely used printer's symbols, a pair of cases enabled compositors to set a single forme for the first folio of Shakespeare's plays.⁴⁹ By contrast, the exceptionally large pages of the *Book of Martyrs* required more type. Constant redistribution of type necessitated rapid reading of proofs before each print run. Stop-press corrections were rare. Discovery of errors after distribution of type resulted in the introduction of pen and ink corrections, cancel slips, cancellation of pages or sheets, and/or lists of errata.

It was Day's responsibility to oversee all aspects of his business because deputy printers were virtually unheard of in the London printing trade prior to the eighteenth century. It appears that Richard Day assisted his father with the printing of some books including the 1576 *Book of Martyrs* after he returned from Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, in order to serve his father as a corrector. The first stage in the printing of a book involved the master's determination of book format, which was contingent to a considerable degree upon the length of the exemplar. The major variable by which the master could limit the consumption of paper, and therefore the relative price of books, was selection of the type fount to be used for the body of the text. The cost of books therefore varied in direct relationship to the sizes of the type. For any given text, use of a larger fount consumed more paper for the same number of copies, which resulted in more expensive books.

The master then had to determine the amount of paper needed. This involved casting off the copy by estimating the quantity of text and computing the number of perfected sheets required for its printing. Effective casting off also required determination of the amount of white space and the availability of illustrations, tables, and other paratext for inclusion in calculations. Manuscript notes by Foxe in the trove of papers that he collected for the *Book of Martyrs* indicate that he participated in

⁴⁸ Lotte Hellinga, "Printing," in Hellinga and Trapp, p. 82.

⁴⁹ Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 53.

the preparation of copy for the pressmen.⁵⁰ Not only did he draw upon printed books or book sections, but he also gathered a vast number of loose leaves of paper, both large and small, on which many different individuals had inscribed documentation. He also added a considerable amount of text during the actual printing of the *Book of Martyrs*.

We may scrutinize the expanded second edition of the *Book of Martyrs* as a model for understanding the capitalization and sale of Foxe's martyrological history. In its finished state, each copy should have required about 600 perfected sheets of royal paper.⁵¹ This is a crude approximation, because the amount of waste paper is uncertain. A print run of 1,250 copies would have required at least 1,500 printer's reams.⁵² Given the highly unstable nature of the printer's copy compiled by Foxe, it is easy to see why Day underestimated the amount of paper needed for the second edition. As we shall see, he had to make shift by pasting together sheets of foolscap when he ran short of larger paper. It is possible that disruption in the shipping of paper resulted in this shortfall. After all, English printers secured their stocks from continental Europe, especially France. Early modern England lacked a significant domestic trade in the manufacture of white paper for printing. It is possible that Day's indulgence of Foxe's last-minute expansion of printer's copy contributed to the exhaustion of his paper stock.

In understanding the cost of editions of the *Book of Martyrs*, we are fortunate in being able to rely on the 1573 probate inventory of the books of Henry Hutchinson, a reader in theology at St. John's College, Oxford. The appraiser calculated the value of his copy "foxus actes and monu-mentes of the church in two volumes" at sixteen shillings (16s).⁵³ This description can only refer to the second edition. Of course, post-mortem values are not necessarily retail prices, and may be significantly lower.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1.D.

⁵¹ Wide variation in size of surviving copies results from bookbinders' cropping or recropping of the edges of pages.

⁵² Estimates of numbers of sheets required for printing books are exclusive of waste paper. Furthermore, McKenzie has demonstrated that the size of print runs varied widely ("Printers of the Mind," pp. 25–26). Upward limits for the number of copies in the 1596 and 1631–32 editions were 1,350 and 1,600 copies (see below).

⁵³ Fehrenbach, *Private Libraries*. This price is compatible to 1580s valuations of copies of *A&M*, for which nothing is known concerning date of publication or binding. These values are 26s 8d in 1581 and 30s in 1586. Two copies received appraisals at 16s and 18s in 1589. See Fehrenbach 1.90 and E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), nos. 152 and 164.

Nonetheless, this appraisal allows an approximation concerning the price of a book whose value corresponded roughly to two month's wages of a highly skilled clothworker in London.⁵⁴ If we allow 1s for binding, more or less, the remainder of 15s affords a benchmark for the contemporary cost of this book. If we allow for inflation, the price of 0.3d per printed sheet is compatible with the Stationers' Company 1598 determination of the maximum retail price for most books set in pica or Augustine type at 0.5d per sheet.⁵⁵ If anything, this appraisal is conservative. Allowing for inflation, it is compatible with appraisals made in the late 1580s. In a Chancery suit lodged against his stepmother, Richard Vernon assigned a value of 24s apiece to twenty-five copies that she had failed to deliver to him.⁵⁶ It seems likely that this represents a retail price (after all, the wholesale price for the 1596 edition was 17s 6d). Two undated copies owned by Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, were evaluated at 16s and 18s. One must grant that one or the other might have been a copy of the editions of 1563 or 1576, which were less expensive because they required less paper. Nevertheless, the appraisal at £1.5 of a two-volume copy owned by the late Thomas Bound represents an upward limit for copies of the first four editions for which valuations remain extant. In this instance, the higher price may reflect the use of a more costly binding than the other copies.⁵⁷

During an age when fewer and fewer publishers operated printing houses in which they produced their own books, Day combined the functions of printer, publisher, and bookseller. Vertical integration enabled him to make "a double profit because he could mark up his costs by at least 125 percent and still remain competitive with comparable books."⁵⁸ He retained the markups of about 50 percent normally charged by each of these middlemen between the compositors and pressmen, on the one hand, and the purchaser, on the other. After payment of wages of about 1s 1.5d, he was entitled to charge what were known as "printer's thirds" (6.5d). At 75 percent of the cost of production, paper for the book at the

⁵⁴ See Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576–1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 277. Appendix B (Wage and Price Fluctuations, 1264–1954) indicates that prices doubled between the publication of the 1563 and 1684 editions of A&M (p. 280). A rough approximation of relative value of this sum in 2002 currency is £118 according to Economic History Services (<http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/>).

⁵⁵ Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 178.

⁵⁶ Oastler, *John Day*, p. 67.

⁵⁷ Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, nos. 152, 164.

⁵⁸ Blayney, "John Day," p. 331. The figures in the present paragraph are highly provisional.

rate of 0.1d per sheet would have cost about 5s. Addition of the publisher's markup would have resulted in a wholesale price of 10s.⁵⁹ Day would have factored overheads, supplies such as ink and ink balls, interest on loans, stationers' discounts, likely turnover time, bad debts, and other expenses into his price structure. Retail customers presumably received a small discount when they purchased the book at one of Day's shops, rather than a store operated by a competing bookseller. In the long run, his net profit seems unlikely to have exceeded 3s or 4s per copy sold.

At about 5s per book, the cost of paper for the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs* would have added up to about £315 for the entire print run.⁶⁰ Provision of paper represented the largest component in a publisher's investment and the biggest risk in the production and marketing of a sizable folio. A printer-publisher like Day had to invest significant capital in a book that took a long time to produce and might require many decades of warehousing before it delivered a return on investment. Failure to sell an unpopular book would result in a net loss. His willingness to risk capital and tax the resources of his printing house in the production of a revised and expanded edition of Foxe's martyrology accords with a congratulatory poem in praise of the printer, "Ad Jo[annes]: Daium typographum," added to the second edition. It contrasts Day with publishers of expensive trifles and declares:

Since many wander after trifles and grief,
They will sell folly at a great price;
So that you do not repay each one for the desired profit owed,
Oh Day, it is granted that the Monuments stand for you greatly.⁶¹

More than most other printer-publishers, Day protected his books against the fate made light of only a century later in Dryden's *MacFlecknoe*: "From dusty shops neglected authors come, / Martyrs of pies, and relics of the bum" (ll. 100–101). Contemporary trade printers such as John Wolfe, who undertook jobs for publishers such as Day, avoided both the risk and potential reward of investment in paper.

⁵⁹ See Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D. C.: Folger Library Publications, 1991), pp. 25–32.

⁶⁰ These provisional figures are based on a press run of 1,250 copies, which seems less than absolutely certain for any edition of *A&M*.

⁶¹ "Frivola quum multi deliramenta, meramque; / Sultitiam magno vendiderint pretio, / Ne dubita optato referes vel singula lucro / (Daie) licet magno stent Monumenta tibi" (¶4f).

Given the size of his operation, Day seems likely to have reinvested his own money in addition to borrowed funds. Steady sales of patented books in small formats and small typefaces, such as the *Whole Book of Psalms* or Becon's *Sick Man's Salve*, required few paper sheets and afforded Day the latitude to undertake publication of folios such as the *Book of Martyrs*. Despite the slow sale of books and financial risk that Day incurred, his republication of this book in editions of increasing length suggests that it enjoyed considerable success during an era when few books of its magnitude went beyond one or two printings. The revised and expanded second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* represents a case in point. The only early modern English history to approach the *Book of Martyrs* in magnitude or reputation, it never went into a third edition.

John Day entered into collaboration with Foxe soon after the émigré's return to England. It may be that William Cecil, their mutual patron, forged the link between them.⁶² Under the terms of the septennium privilege that Day received through the intercession of Cecil and other powerful supporters, the printer published the first English installment of Foxe's martyrological history within less than a year of the accession of Elizabeth I: *A Friendly Farewell, Which Master Doctor Ridley, Late Bishop of London Did Write Being Prisoner in Oxford, unto All His True Lovers and Friends in God, a Little Before That He Suffered* (10 November 1559). As the title indicates, this book disseminates a valedictory address that colleagues of the condemned man spirited out of prison for circulation in manuscript within the beleaguered community of Marian Protestants. Explaining that work on the *Book of Martyrs* is already in progress, a preface advises the "gentle reader" to accept this slender octavo in expectation of greater thynges," namely "the other Volumes . . . which we ar about, touching the full historie, processe, and examinations, of all our blessed brethren, lately persecuted for rightuousnes sake" (:1^v-2^r). Day's printing of this book in black letter, the typeface with which most English books were printed until c. 1590, constitutes a typographical acknowledgment that Foxe has returned from the more advanced sphere of continental publication to the insular book trade in London. Printers in France and Switzerland and their colleagues to the south had already shifted to roman typography as the standard for the printing of books in both learned and vernacular languages.

⁶² Evenden and Freeman, "John Foxe," pp. 26–27.

C. The *Books of Martyrs*

In line with D. F. McKenzie's call for study of the "sociology of texts" (see Introduction), the present inquiry investigates literary, political, religious, and cultural ramifications of the compilation and printing of a long line of editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. In considering the many redactions, discontinuities, and appropriations evident in these unabridged and abridged versions, this study places particular emphasis upon how the shifting material forms of these books affected the understanding of generations of readers. For example, the contorted compilation and printing of the first edition mirrored the turbulence of a period of religious persecution that came to a halt with the accession of Elizabeth I. Although Foxe addressed his collection to a vernacular readership, his retention of large numbers of Latin documents resulted in a striking hybridization of dissimilar conventions followed in the production of books in English as opposed to Latin. The second edition of this already massive collection doubled in size in response to Roman Catholic charges concerning falsification of documents and the alleged novelty of Protestantism. At the same time, Foxe and Day embarked upon the excision of considerable amounts of Latin text in a manner that corresponded to the enhancement of navigational aids and other forms of paratext geared to the needs of vernacular readers. These trends continued in two succeeding editions on which these bookmen collaborated. Among the four editions that they oversaw, the third represents an anomaly both in its affordability and in the lower qualitative standards observed in its printing. Even though high-ranking officials encouraged the acquisition of copies for reading in public places as a means of enhancing support for the Elizabethan regime, the book's commitment to ongoing ecclesiastical reform invited dissident applications by discontented readers critical of the uneasy compromise between Calvinistic doctrine and vestiges of Catholic ritualism imposed by the settlement in religion of 1559.

The retention of black letter as the dominant typeface of all but the 1684 edition, despite the prevalent shift to roman type on the part of late sixteenth-century London printers, sheds light on ways in which Foxe and Day addressed the needs of readers in editions that they turned out between 1563 and 1583. Following their deaths during the 1580s, unabridged versions of the *Book of Martyrs* attained a degree of textual stability. After all, publishers carefully differentiated between ever-expanding continuations and the martyrological history that preceded them. For this reason, inquiry into the later publishing history of this

book will move beyond close bibliographical examination of the shifting textual contents of the first four editions to consideration of broader issues related to the book trade, notably the increasing dominance of booksellers, and readership at large. Because the archives of the Company of Stationers preserve rich documentation concerning production of later versions, the focus of this investigation will shift to business arrangements and disputes concerning monopolies involved in the formation of complicated partnerships and syndicates required to publish five editions of a mammoth book (1596–1684) originally produced and sold by a single printer-publisher. This study will also consider different strategies employed in the production of a variety of abridgements and selections designed to broaden the market for and readership of Foxean history. Only one of these distillations, Clement Cotton's *Mirror of Martyrs*, appears to have been an unalloyed commercial success despite clearly evident demand for more affordable versions of this book. Editors constructed some of these truncated versions as highly topical responses to contemporary events. It is a tribute to Foxe's extraordinary feat of addressing a single book to a broad readership that ranged across the entire religio-political spectrum that different abridgments and selections could take sides for or undergo application by readers opposed to the monarchical and episcopal establishment during the era leading up to and following the English Civil Wars. This investigation will conclude with the ninth edition, published during the Restoration, because it is the final unabridged version in which readers encountered a textual core substantially similar to that read by their Elizabethan predecessors. This is the case despite the shift to roman type that conferred a remarkably modern appearance upon Foxe's martyrological history.

1. First edition (1563)

The 1563 version of the *Book of Martyrs* captures the optimistic mood of the opening years of the reign of Elizabeth I, when nationalistic Protestants welcomed the cessation of religious persecution and expectations were high for the implementation of thorough-going ecclesiastical reform.⁶³ Foxe acknowledges these hopes by striking a pose as a new Eusebius, who

⁶³ The ensuing investigation of the publication history of *A&M* builds upon and extends findings presented in King, "Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the History of the Book." See also Julian Roberts, "Bibliographical Aspects of John Foxe," in *JFER*, pp. 36–51; Julian Roberts and

chronicled the early history of the Christian church, in dedicating this book to the queen, whom he compares to Constantine I. In so doing, he likens the outset of her reign to the time when imperial persecution ceased and Christianity became an official religion of the Roman Empire. The historiated initial C at the beginning of the emperor's name reinforces the antipapal thrust of this dedication because it portrays Elizabeth I rising in triumph over a deposed pope (Figure 31). This alignment of ancient and modern Rome links papal usurpation of religio-political authority with the tyranny of emperors such as Nero and Diocletian, who were notorious for persecuting christians and burning them alive (see Figure 39). Not only does Foxe claim that the present moment restores a degree of collaboration between church and state that existed under Constantine, he also appeals for patronage on the model of the emperor's support of Eusebius's historical research. Of course, Foxe employs a standard move in epideictic rhetoric when he praises the queen as a means of lodging a discreet appeal for her to fulfill and extend the settlement in religion in place at the death of Edward VI. The initial publication of this book integrated apocalyptic expectations of the kind that inform Bale's *Image of Both Churches* with an ideal of a "godly prince" who would preside over a quasi-theocratic government. Like John Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*, this book "held in check" the "revolutionary potential" of millenarianism through "deference to civil authority." This harnessing of "centripetal millenarianism" on behalf of royal authority is profoundly ambivalent, however, because of the intensity of Foxe's countervailing animus to the pope as Antichrist.⁶⁴ Left unstated is the alternative prospect that evangelical Protestants would recoil if the monarch were to block further reform and permit the survival of vestiges of Roman Catholicism.

Foxe reinforces his praise of the transfer of power from Mary I by concluding his book with "The sixt tome or section of the Ecclesiastical history, containing such actes and records as happened in the most flourishing reigne of Quene Elizabeth." The title for this short section is misleading, however, because he leads off with "The Miraculous Preservation of the

Elizabeth Evenden, "Bibliographical Aspects of the *Acts and Monuments*," *A&M* (online); Evenden and Freeman, "John Foxe"; Lander, "Printing and Popularizing"; and James K. Bracken, *Come Ye Blessed, Go Ye Cursed: The World of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Also Known as The Book of Martyrs* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Libraries, 1999); and Mozley. Roberts and Evenden provide collations for the first four editions.

⁶⁴ William M. Lamont, *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603–60* (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 23–25.

Lady Elizabeth,” which looks backward to her imprisonment before she became queen.⁶⁵ Nearly as long as the ensuing account of events at the outset of her reign, this narrative provides a richly circumstantial account of what transpired during her imprisonment between March 1554 and April 1555, initially at the Tower of London and later at the royal manor at Woodstock. Positioned near the end of early editions of the *Book of Martyrs*, it offers a capstone of sorts for the collection as a whole.

Bibliographical evidence underscores how this story complements Foxe’s dedicatory claim that providential deliverance has brought Elizabeth to power in order to restore England to “true” religion. In accordance with standard practice, pressmen printed the preliminary gatherings that contain the dedication and other prefatory materials as the last step in the production process. The irregularity of pagination in the narrative concerning perils that she suffered during her late sister’s reign suggests that it and the dedication were printed at roughly the same time. Following an introductory comparison between Mary’s persecutory policies and Elizabeth’s clemency, Foxe’s narrative concerning Elizabeth the prisoner abstracts a laudatory character sketch out of *An Harbor for Faithful and True Subjects* (1559) by John Aylmer, whom she appointed as Bishop of London after her accession. Whilst this book bears a Strasbourg imprint, John Day printed it in London at a time when he had embarked upon publication of the *Book of Martyrs*. Whilst scholars have sometimes attributed to Foxe the authorship of the closing account of Elizabeth’s imprisonment, he actually compiled it from oral and/or written reports by eye witnesses.⁶⁶ It is debatable, however, whether assertions that she survived due to divine intervention are wholly the result of “Foxe’s providential interpretation of Elizabeth’s life and accession to the throne.”⁶⁷ After all, the queen’s own writings are imbued with the conviction that providential deliverance enabled her to survive and function as a divine instrument. She articulates this conviction in speeches that she delivered before Parliament and in prayers whose publication was unconnected to Foxe’s book.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ 1563, pp. 1708–17. For transcriptions of this narrative and the 1563 dedication, see *Voices*, pp. 345–64.

⁶⁶ Thomas Freeman, “Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs,’” in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 33–34.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁸ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 48, 71, 137, 141.

Focusing almost wholly on her imprisonment, the romance-like imprisonment story has a tragicomic trajectory that moves from initial adversity to a triumphant conclusion based upon repeated interventions of divine providence. It incorporates artful touches including Elizabeth's application of the Parable of the Two Houses (Matt. 7: 24–27) when she is reported to have employed the Bible as a symbol for religious faith upon entry into the Tower. This detail might constitute an anachronistic back-formation from her display of the Bible during her pre-coronation entry into London when, according to the description in Richard Mulcaster's *Queen's Majesty's Passage Through the City of London* (1559), she did “with both her hands take it, kiss it, and lay it upon her breast to the great comfort of the lookers-on.”⁶⁹ It is worthy of note that Foxe suppresses reference to Elizabeth's religious conformity and attendance at Mass during her late half-sister's reign by instead emphasizing plots against her, notably those initiated by Stephen Gardiner, and her Christlike pose as “*tanquam ovis*” (“like a sheep”; Isa. 53:7) being led to slaughter when she was en route to house arrest at Woodstock. This allusion casts her in a quasi-martyrological guise. In sanitizing her record during the recent reign of terror, Foxe hints at discontent harbored by Marian exiles, many of whom became adherents of the nascent Puritan movement of the 1560s, against Nicodemites such as the queen. High-ranking officials such as William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon joined her in neither courting martyrdom nor fleeing into exile.

In *Ad doctum Lectorem* (“To the Learned Reader”), a preface that follows the dedication, Foxe takes a retrospective view of the “eighteen months of preparing material, bringing together and collating documents, comparing exemplars, reading books carefully, rewriting what was demanded in script, checking formulas, getting the history right, putting it in order, and the like” that the printing of this book entailed (B3^v). The date of publication supplied in the colophon, 20 March 1563, suggests that the production process began during the latter part of 1561, but the gathering of material began well before this date. Compilation did not represent an orderly process, however, because many *ad hoc* irregularities in pagination and disruptions in collation indicate that Foxe forced compositors to work with unstable copy. He disrupted the setting of type and printing by adding or deleting material from the copy text as press-work was in progress. This represented a departure from standard practice

⁶⁹ *Voices*, p. 341.

for printing a first edition, whereby a printer would begin by estimating the length of a book by means of casting off text in a more or less finished manuscript copy (or previously printed text). This involved marking leaves so that compositors could identify the breaks between pages and quires as they imposed type in formes. Very long folios of this kind were typically gathered in sixes. A normal gathering would accordingly contain twelve pages of text printed on six folded sheets of paper.

The highly irregular collation of this abnormal book attests to Foxe's departure from customary printing house practice. Compositors would typically sign each gathering of a book in sequence with the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet. The excluded letters are typically I or J, U or V, and W. With the ordering of new signatures in sequence with additional lower- and upper-case letters, the 1563 version "runs to quadrupled capital letters." Irregularities in collation signal major alterations in the copy text. The compositors shifted to from six to eight leaves in the G, H, and I signatures before inserting extra asterisked signatures of irregular length. Signifying interpolation, these additions contain new material that Foxe inserted concerning the struggle for political supremacy between the papacy and late medieval rulers. This material had a bearing upon Foxe's dedicatory praise of Elizabeth I for ensuring England's independence from the Church of Rome. After resumption in the regular signing of gatherings, the next rupture, which occurs in the Vv signature, accommodates what may have been an unexpectedly long document concerning Thomas Bilney. In another departure from the compositorial norm, we encounter a shift to excessively narrow columns on the final leaf of the RRRr gathering. This change allowed Foxe to substitute a lengthier version of Thomas Cranmer's rescinding of his recantation when the pressmen were at the end of a gathering.⁷⁰ Even the inclusion of "The Miraculous Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth" appears to have been a last-minute addition.⁷¹

Affording a useful example of how compositors accommodated a substantial addition, another interpolation consists of an interchange of correspondence between Edward VI and his elder sister, Lady Mary, concerning her refusal to conform to changes in religion. Inserted after the account of the king's death, this material has the appearance of a cache of recently discovered documents that the compiler felt compelled to insert out of chronological order. This interpolation yet again enhances

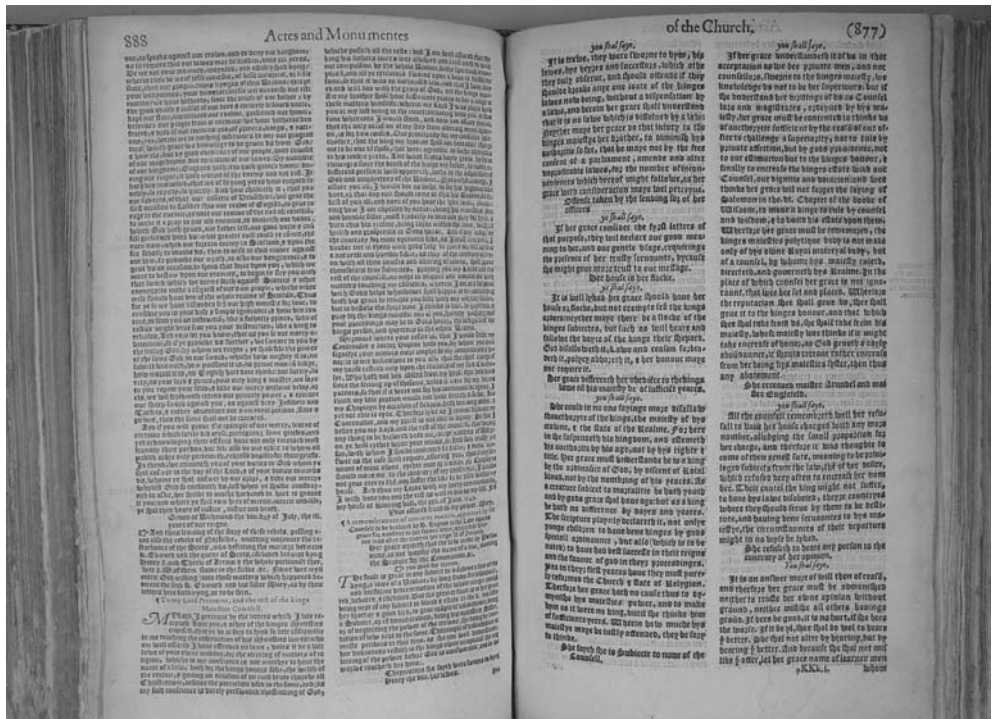
⁷⁰ Roberts, "Bibliographical Aspects," pp. 43–46.

⁷¹ Freeman, "Providence and Prescription," p. 32.

the representation of Elizabeth I as a “godly” ruler who has fostered the independence of the Church of England from papal authority. The addition of an asterisk before this interpolated *KKk signature indicates that it interrupts the sequence of the KKk and Lll gatherings that respectively precede and follow this new material. Parentheses that enclose pagination within the interpolated signature indicate that pages “(877)” to “(888)” constitute an insertion between previously printed pages 877–88 of the preceding signature and Foxe’s account of the reign of Mary I, which begins on page 889. The compositor’s change from pica to long primer black letter immediately before the interpolated gathering supplies a further indication that inclusion of correspondence between the Tudor siblings was an afterthought. This shift from a larger to a smaller fount was designed not to correct an error in casting off the exemplar, as is often the case, but to bring the history of Edward VI to a conclusion at the end of the preexisting KKk signature (Figure 10). This stratagem demonstrates that they had originally set type or cast off for a larger type for the setting of Foxe’s history of the reign of Mary I before the inclusion of new material.

Prior to casting off the original version of Foxe’s unstable text, John Day would have determined the standard textblock and type founts for the *Book of Martyrs*. His decisions concerning the normal width of margins, the sizes of type, and inclusion of woodcuts and other paratext would have a direct bearing upon the average word count per page and therefore the overall amount of paper that he needed for the print run. Because of the multilingual character of Foxe’s text, the publisher reached an unusual decision to hybridize dissimilar conventions for the printing of books in learned languages as opposed to the vernacular. This decision resulted in a book with a radically different appearance from comparable folios printed both in England and continental Europe. As a member of the small and insular London book trade, Day had relatively few opportunities to print Latin and Greek.⁷² He was primarily a vernacular printer, unlike major European printers, such as Oporinus and Plantin. Even though such printers catered primarily to the large continental market, they also published Latin books that booksellers imported into England. The overseas trade was already well supplied, and insufficient local demand contributed to the demise of learned presses that had started up at Oxford, Cambridge, and London. Even if Foxe had not gone into exile, it would

⁷² See p. 86, above.

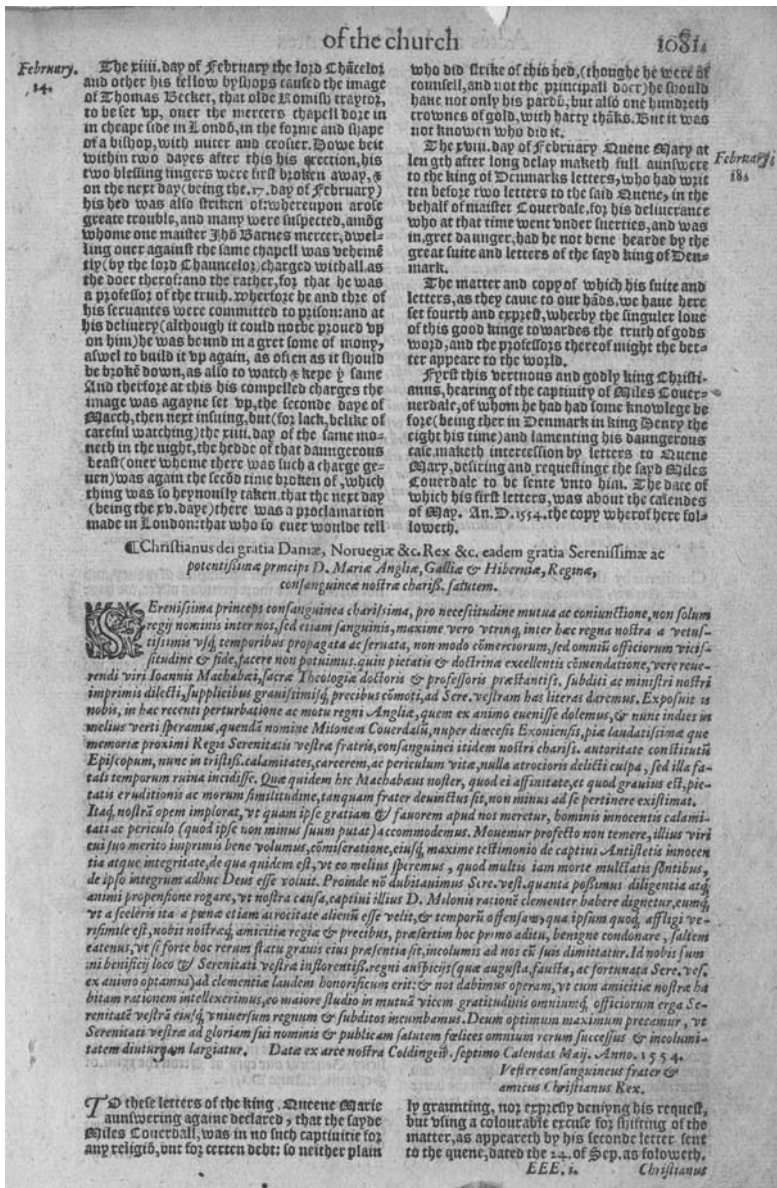


10. The left-hand page exemplifies the compositor's use of a smaller type face (long primer black letter) in order to squeeze in text at the end of a gathering. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), pp. 888–(877).

have been appropriate for the initial Latin versions of the *Book of Martyrs* to have been printed in the Rhineland.

In marketing the *Book of Martyrs*, Day succeeded at hybridizing two radically different traditions associated with the books in the English language versus humanistic texts, which were respectively printed in England and on the continent. The way in which he accomplished this feat offers revealing clues concerning anticipated readership, marketing, and the use of books by different categories of readers. The decision to use double-column layout for the English textblock may seem like a mundane feature, but it establishes a definitive model for the unabridged hand-press editions of Foxe's book. Day employed a single column of italic type for Latin documents versus double columns for vernacular text printed in black letter. Typography and layout underscore the coexistence of learned and vernacular scholarship within the same book (Figure 11; p. 1081).

Although one might suspect that Day employed single-column layout in order to increase the number of letters per line of Latin text, it is



11. The use of black-letter and italic type for the respective setting of vernacular and Latin text in the *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1081.

assumptions concerning different literacy levels rather than the number of characters per line of type that govern the printer's differentiation of text into single or double columns. The number of letters in the single-column black-letter type settings for the English language is somewhat less than that of adjacent italicized settings for one-column Latin documents.⁷³ Although the letter count has no definitive bearing on layout in single versus double columns, the two-column vernacular textblock in the *Book of Martyrs* and other books may demonstrate an application of the "principle of the short prose line" as an accommodation for "less literate readers."⁷⁴ It is not surprising that Day should model the layout of Latin documents in the *Book of Martyrs* upon that observed by foreign printers such as Oporinus.⁷⁵ He is not unique in this because other English publishers such as Hugh Singleton, who marketed Latin books by Foxe that dated from the reign of Edward VI, observe the conventions of continental publication. It is worthy of note that Steven Mierdman, an immigrant Dutchman, appears to have printed some of these learned books on behalf of Singleton.

The prevailing double-column layout of vernacular folios follows the precedent established by early printers in England,⁷⁶ who joined their continental counterparts in modeling large books on the double-column layout of many, if not most, medieval manuscripts in western Europe. This layout seemed particularly appropriate for scholarly tomes. Among European incunabula and later editions, this tradition generally governed the printing of folio editions of patristic commentaries and medieval Latin texts such as the *Legenda Aurea*.⁷⁷ Double-column textblock endures to the present day in Bibles of all sizes. An interesting edition of the Vulgate

⁷³ In 1563, the average is seventy-four letters in black-letter and ninety-two in italic.

⁷⁴ McKenzie, "Typography and Meaning," p. 103.

⁷⁵ On the peripheral status of London printing and the impact of Netherlandish printing practices on the *Book of Martyrs*, see Andrew Pettegree, "Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Marshall and Ryrie, pp. 161–62, 177–79.

⁷⁶ Caxton rarely employed double columns, but other early printers in England did (e.g., John Lettou in London, Theodoric Rood in Oxford, and the anonymous Schoolmaster printer of St. Albans). Their successors, de Worde and Pynson, frequently employed two-column layout.

⁷⁷ E.g., Jacobus de Voragine, *Lombardica Historia* (Ulm: Conrad Dinckmut, 1488), known generally as the *Legenda Aurea*. See Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections* (Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1973), J-121; hereafter cited as Goff. These findings concerning textblock are based upon a survey of incunabula and other early printed books preserved at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at OSU.

published in Basel in 1495 demonstrates that this convention disregards the convenience of readers, because Johannes Froben printed this octavo, which is no larger than two decks of cards, with a 7-point fount whose name, *mignonne* or *minion*, reflects its daintiness (Figure 12).⁷⁸ Making arduous demands on the eyesight of readers, it is even smaller than *brevier*, an 8-point type also known as *petit texte*, with which printers commonly printed Bibles. *Nonpareil* stands out among a small number of tinier types. Among double-column folios printed in England, examples comparable to the *Book of Martyrs* include William Rastell's edition of *The Works of Sir Thomas More, Knight* (1557) and Foxe's own edition of the *Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*. On the other hand, the single-column textblock of Hall's *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (1548) and Thomas Nicolls's translation of *The History Written by Thucydides the Athenian of the War, Which was Between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians* (1550) demonstrates that double-column printing of vernacular folios represents a rule-of-thumb rather than a hard-and-fast rule.

In contrast to books of this kind, emulation of humanistic manuscripts (as opposed to books in medieval Latin) led to the use of single-column textblock in editions published by the printers of Rome and Venice during the early decades of European printing.⁷⁹ Examples include editions of Livy's *Historiae Romanae Decades* (Treviso: Johannes Rubeus, 1485)⁸⁰ and Tacitus's *Historiae Augustiae* (Milan: Antonius Zarotus, c. 1487).⁸¹ The spartan pages of these books, which are almost devoid of paratext, are characteristic of early humanistic printing. This is a general tendency rather than an absolute rule.⁸² The bare pages and roman typography function as a forerunner for scholarly editions produced by Wendelin Rihel, Johannes Oporinus, and their contemporaries. Oporinus's edition of *Platonis Omnia Opera* (1534) is a fine example of single-column layout

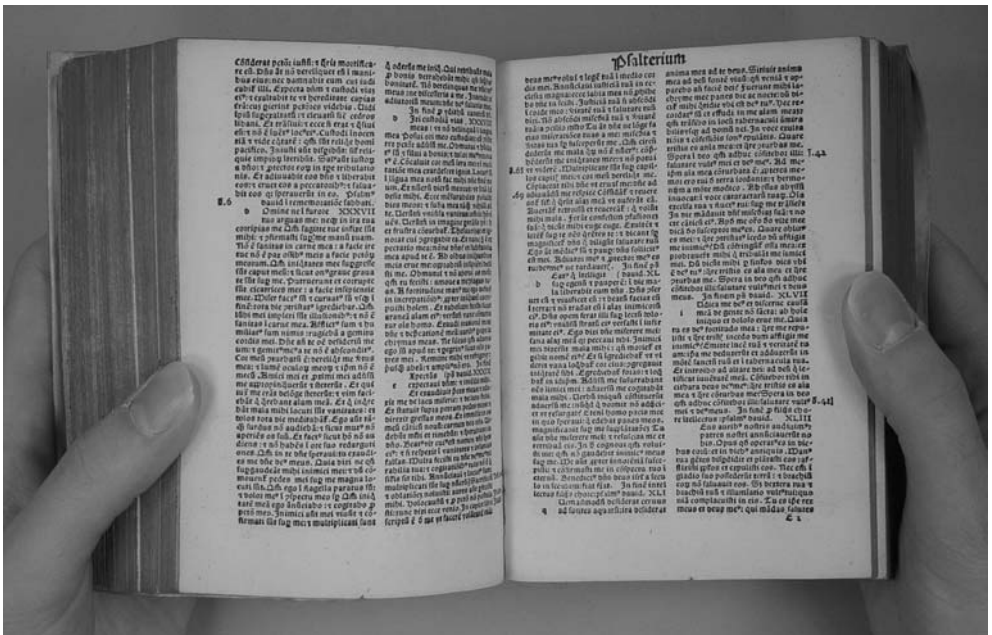
⁷⁸ *Biblia latina*, revised by Gabriel Brunus (Goff B-598).

⁷⁹ On the overwhelming preponderance of single-column format in humanistic manuscripts, see Albert Derolez, *Codicologie des Manuscrits en Ecriture Humanistique sur Parchemin*, 2 vols., Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia, vols. 5–6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 1.26–29. See also Henri-Jean Martin, et al., *La Naissance du Livre Moderne (XIV^e–XVII^e Siècles): Mise en Page et Mise en Texte du Livre Français* (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 2000), passim.

⁸⁰ Goff L-244.

⁸¹ I.e., *Opera* (Goff T-7).

⁸² For example, the three-column layout and complicated annotation of Horace's *Opera cum quibusdam annotationibus* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1498; Goff H-461) afford a luxuriant contrast to these books.



12. The use of a small typeface (Mignonne) rendered this octavo edition of the Vulgate Bible more affordable by crowding the pages with words. Designated for hand rubrication of initial capitals, the empty spaces marked by guide letters were never filled in. *Biblia Sacra* (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1495), E1^v-2^r.

for the Greek text of Plato's dialogues (Figure 13). Published in Basel by Johannes Valderus, it predates the foundation of Oporinus's printing house.

The deceptively simple issue of the organization of textblock into single versus double columns is related to a broader concern with typography and concomitant issues concerning levels of literacy and social lines. John Day is quite conventional in identifying particular typesets with specific languages and literacy levels, a practice that reflects the fact that black letter remained in common use in England and northern Europe long after italic and roman typesets became standard in France, Italy, and Spain. Nevertheless, he displays daring resolve as a printer not only in taking on publication of an unprecedented large book, but also in employing a complicated hierarchy of typesets in order to follow Foxe's lead in combining large blocks of text in Latin and the vernacular *within a single book*. This innovation is

in keeping with the printer's general habit of lavishly using a variety of different typefaces and founts.⁸³

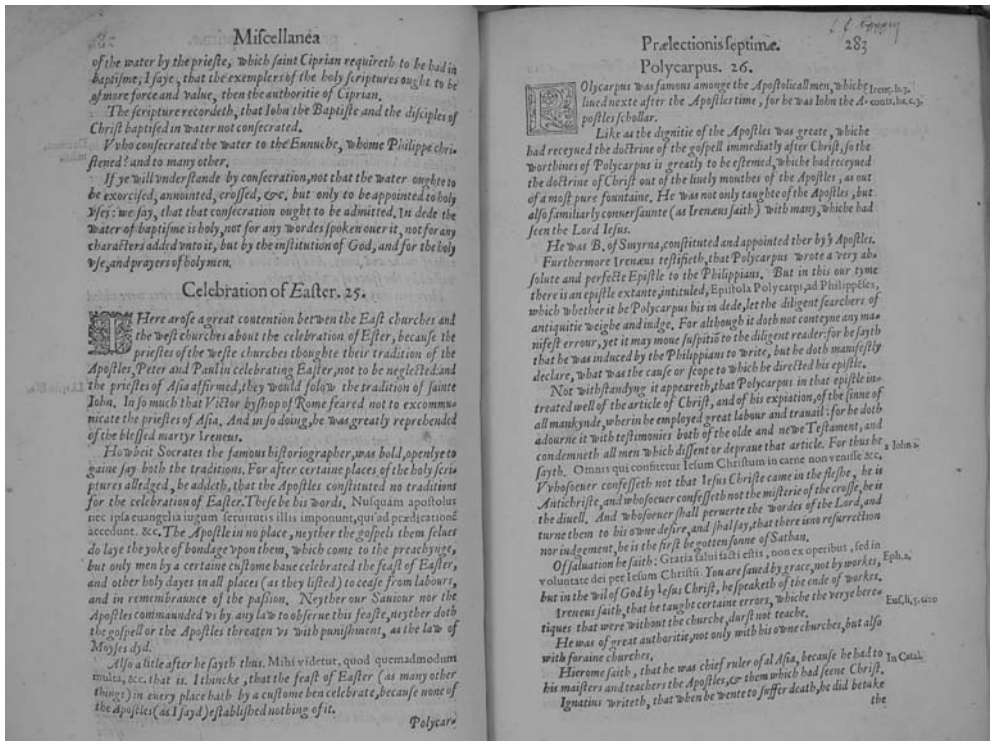
Day's practice is in keeping with Moxon's reference to the casting of type with "a Romain, Italica, and sometimes an English Face."⁸⁴ In defining black letter as specifically *English*, Moxon refers not to place of manufacture of matrices or type, in all probability the Low Countries, but to the standard practice of using this typeface in the printing of books in the English language. Equally well, he identifies roman type with ancient Rome and italics with Latin and Romance languages. Day accordingly adheres to the historical truism that sixteenth-century English printers employed black letter for printing in the vernacular versus roman and italic type for books in Latin and certain continental European languages. That his use of black letter in the *Book of Martyrs* may not have been automatic is suggested by his publication of Bishop William Alley's *The Poor Man's Library* (1565). For the first edition of this miscellany, which is largely concerned with religious subjects, the printer employed great primer italics not only for Latin, but also for English text (Figure 14). Surely the printing of almost the whole of this book in italics was deliberate, because Day owned an abundant supply of black-letter type. He reserved italics for Latin when he republished this book in 1571, but almost the whole of this edition is set in black letter. This shift to a lower level of the typographical hierarchy suggests that early Elizabethan readers were reluctant to accept Day's experiment at printing vernacular text in italics in the manner of continental printers going back to Aldus Manutius.

Day's typographical hybridization furthers the manner in which the *Book of Martyrs* Anglicizes Latin scholarship for an audience broader than that normally associated with academic tomes. The endurance of black letter as the dominant typeface of successive editions of this book across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has received considerable notice from scholars, who generally see its continued use as an anachronism associated with Bibles and other religious books.⁸⁵ This is correct to some

⁸³ The compositors for *A&M* (1563) employed seven different founts in the three typefaces other than Anglo-Saxon, Greek, and Hebrew, but pica black letter is the dominant type for double-column vernacular textblock.

⁸⁴ *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 20. See Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, tr. Raymond H. Kaye, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969–72), 2.157. I am further indebted to Steven Galbraith's research concerning English vernacular typography.

⁸⁵ Oastler, *John Day*, p. 27. See also Chapter 2.C.10.



14. John Day employed small amounts of black letter in the first edition of William Alley's compendium of learning on religion and other subjects, but typographical experimentation resulted in a book in which both English and Latin were printed almost wholly in italics. Day's abandonment of this humanistic typeface in the second edition (1571) suggests that readers felt more comfortable with reading English text set in black letter. *The Poor Man's Library*, 1st ed. (1565), fols. 282^v–283^v.

degree, but a more compelling reason for its endurance is simpler than this, but more profound. Day and his successors retained black letter even after it went out of fashion c. 1590 because Foxe compiled this text primarily for *illiterati* who could read the English language, but not Latin.⁸⁶ He joined other printers in recognizing that different typefaces

⁸⁶ Ronald B. McKerrow conjectures that "by about 1580 the use of black letter in plays and the higher kinds of English verse, as well as in Latin books, had almost ceased," in *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 297. Mark Bland plausibly assigns this shift to c. 1590 in "The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England," *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* 11 (1998), pp. 105, 117.

were suitable to “an elaborate hierarchy of literacy skills.”⁸⁷ Typography differentiates *literati* capable of reading text set in roman and Greek typefaces from the *hoi polloi*, who do not go beyond vernacular wording set almost wholly in black letter. Its endurance is in keeping with William Harrison’s praise of the vernacular component of the *Book of Martyrs* for contributing to the “ornature” of the English language through its avoidance of fashionable “ink-horn” terms employed by many writers who “seek to stain the same by fond affectation of foreign and strange words, presuming that to be the best English which is most corrupted with external [foreign] terms of eloquence and sound of many syllables.”⁸⁸

The typographical division between humanistic and vernacular typefaces is grounded upon the practices of early printers, who used black letter for medieval texts in Latin, religious texts, and vernacular languages, on the one hand, and roman or italic type for classical editions and humanistic scholarship, on the other hand. In each case, the typefaces mirror the manuscript hands employed for these different textual categories. Type founders modeled a diverse variety of black letter typefaces on handwriting in use in different parts of Europe during the birth of printing in the mid-fifteenth century. Designers derived roman type, which came into use during the last third of the century in the printing of Latin editions edited by humanistic scholars, from handwriting known as *littera antiqua*. Scribes developed this handwriting in the belief that it revived ancient Roman scripts appropriate to copying classical Latin texts. In 1501 Aldus Manutius employed the earliest founts of italic type in the belief that this variant of roman type, based upon *littera cancellaresca* (i.e., cursive humanistic script), more accurately reflected ancient writing. He employed it in his innovative printing of Latin and Italian classics in portable octavo format, as opposed to earlier folio and quarto editions.⁸⁹

Day’s typographical hybridization mirrors Foxe’s self-deprecating humor in a Latin address to *literati*, in which he demonstrates that he embraces a vernacular readership with considerable uneasiness. The

⁸⁷ Keith Thomas, “The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England,” in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition: Wolfson College Lectures 1985*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131, citing p. 101.

⁸⁸ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1968), p. 416.

⁸⁹ Carter, *View of Early Typography*, pp. 45–67, passim; Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2.155–56. See M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 50–51.

learned Latin humanist declares: "You should know, however, that this work is not given for your ears, but for the men of my crowd, a rather crass group of people, by whom books are more easily read than judged."⁹⁰ A letter that accompanied a copy that he donated to Magdalen College on 2 May 1563 apologizes that "the book is not written in Latin, and so more pleasant to your reading: but the needs of the common people of our land drove me to the vernacular."⁹¹ Simeon Foxe's "Life of Foxe," added in both Latin and English to the 1641 edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, confirms the existence of this socio-linguistic division: "First, he wrote it in Latine, and sent the Copy to *Basil*, to be Printed; where the work is still in great estimation, as also in divers other forraign Nations, among our own men hardly known. . . . Shortly after to gratifie the unlearned, he wrote it in his Mother tongue" (vol. 2, A8^r).

John Day's reservation of what Moxon terms "English Face" for printing in the English language is not innovative, but he clearly decided to fuse learned and vernacular typography (and textblock) in the *Book of Martyrs*. This typographic appeal to different levels of literacy within a single book is a defining feature of the early editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. The printer employed black letter for the printing of English text not because common readers found it easier to read than italic and roman type, but because they were accustomed to reading books composed in black letter. They lacked opportunities to read books set in humanistic type. The typographical hierarchy in the *Book of Martyrs* corresponds to the employment of multiple manuscript hands by multilingual readers. It was standard practice for digraphic individuals such as Roger Ascham to employ an italic hand in the writing of Latin as opposed to Elizabethan secretary hand, in which he wrote documents in the English language. John Bale also used multiple scripts suitable to different textual categories.

Although scholars have commented on the preponderance of black letter in the *Book of Martyrs*, they have ignored the significance of its humanistic typefaces. This silence reflects how readers of English books have grown accustomed to the near universality of roman typography with a small italic component in post-1700 printing. Coexistence of humanistic and vernacular typefaces in the 1563 edition derives from Day's collaboration with Foxe in addressing both the *literati* and *illiterati* within the same

⁹⁰ "Cogites haec non tuis auribus data esse, sed meae, hoc est crassioris turbae hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam iudicantur" (B4^r).

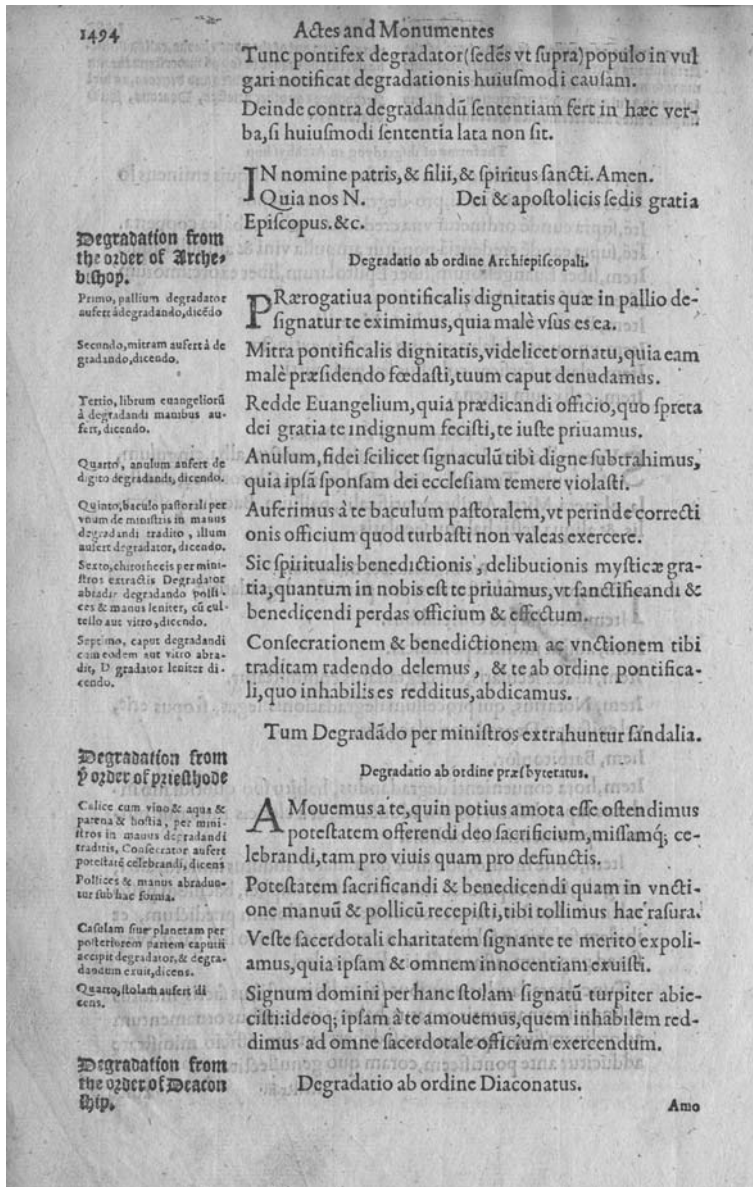
⁹¹ As translated in Mozley, p. 136.

book. Day observes typographical convention when he employs italic and roman typefaces in printing the abundance of Latin documents in Foxe's book. As a concession to the expectation of English readers that printers would set vernacular text in what Moxon terms "English Face," Day's typographical conservatism corresponds to Foxe's uneasy acknowledgment in *Ad doctum Lectorem* that he must adapt his martyrology to readers illiterate in Latin. The printing of the dedication to Elizabeth I in italics in the 1563 edition and its successors provides a major exception to the convention of composing vernacular text in black letter. Day's employment of italic type corresponds with the queen's position at the apex of the social hierarchy.⁹²

The hierarchy of types employed by Day's compositors reflects contradictions between the mentalities of *literati* and *illiterati* during an age when Latin was the language of theological disquisition.⁹³ We may note that Foxe treats Latin literacy as a higher level of readership in his frequent failure to provide English translations not only for Latin text, but also Greek. Untranslated text includes martyrological material and epitaphs from *Rerum*. Failure to translate commendatory poems written in Latin by close associates of Foxe, such as Laurence Humphrey, labels these compositions as productions for a learned coterie. This socio-linguistic stratification is evident in a page of the *Book of Martyrs* very different from its tightly packed two-column black-letter textblock (Figure 15). The compositor here employs roman type for printing the formal Latin rituals followed in removing clerics from office. Foxe fails to translate these documents, in all likelihood because he considers them to be unnecessary or inaccessible to common readers. The compositor does employ black letter for Foxe's English translation of marginal headings such as "Degradation from the order of Archebishop," which enable *illiterati* to escape total mystification in facing a folio page filled with Latin text (p. 1494). In a mirror image of this omission, Foxe fills almost an entire gathering with an English translation of the Canon of the Mass according to the use of Sarum (pp. 891–98). It may be that he omits the Latin original in response to John Day's desire to curb the unruly expansion of printer's copy, but surely the compiler assumes that *literati* are familiar with the Latin Mass.

⁹² Prefatory matter printed in italics is found in many other books, as is the case in William Rastell's dedication to Mary I of *The Works of Sir Thomas More, Knight*.

⁹³ See Jean-François Gilmont, "Protestant Reformations and Reading," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp. 217–19.



15. The compositor here employs black-letter and roman type in order to differentiate between place indicators in the English language and the body of this Latin ritual for the degradation of clerics. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1494.

The commitment of Foxe and Day to the inclusion of Latin documents attracted criticism from William Turner, a vigorous Protestant controversialist, herbalist, and physician who had served as chaplain in the household of Protector Somerset prior to appointment as Dean of Wells Cathedral in 1551. Having resumed this appointment after going into exile during the reign of Mary I, he was suspended from duty because of his adherence to the 1560s protest against the wearing of clerical vestments. The *Book of Martyrs* supplied fuel for this nascent nonconformist movement, because it idealizes bishop-martyrs such as John Hooper and Nicholas Ridley, who opposed vestments as a vestige of “papisty.” Despite Turner’s overall praise of Foxe’s book, he criticized its costliness. In a letter dated 20 November 1563, he noted that “not a few of the poor have complained about the great price of the book, who . . . because of poverty and lack of means, cannot obtain godly books for themselves, while the rich, for the most part, obtain them out of ostentation, in order that they may seem godly.” Turner assigns blame for the high price of this book to the inclusion of “many superfluous things rendered in Latin, and translated by you into English.”⁹⁴

This protest is noteworthy, because it rejects the systematic effort of Foxe and Day to hybridize learned and vernacular languages within a single book. Turner took this position despite the refinement of his Latin learning and the fact that he joined Foxe in moving within the orbit of humanistic scholars when they exiled themselves to continental Europe. Along with John Bale, they shared Conrad Gesner, the Swiss theologian, naturalist, and bibliographer, as an associate. Turner’s advocacy of publication in the vernacular is compatible with his *New Herbal* (1551–68), a landmark compendium of botanical information that he wrote in the English language so that physicians and apothecaries could gain accurate understanding of the pharmacopia. (This book corresponds to Gesner’s *Historia plantarum*.) Turner pointedly blames John Day for driving up the cost of the *Book of Martyrs*: “Printers generally prefer their books to be big for the sake of the big profits that they can make from them, rather than small and easily available to the small and wretched flock of Christ. I wish that your means were ample enough to save you from having to work for miserable, greedy, vainglorious and ignorant booksellers.” He urges Foxe to shorten the text so that more readers may

⁹⁴ BL MS Harley 416, fol. 132^r; as translated in Thomas Freeman, “‘Great searching out of bookes and authors’: John Foxe as an Ecclesiastical Historian,” Ph.D. thesis (Rutgers University, 1995), p. 59.

afford it: "For if it were shorn of what is needless and superfluous, its price would not be more than ten shillings."⁹⁵ In order to accomplish this, Foxe would have to engage in systematic deletion of Latin text.

The rather bare folio pages of the first edition are difficult for the reader to navigate not only because of the text's considerable length, but also because they contain relatively little annotation. The index provides entries for names, places, and subjects, but it is often difficult to locate a precise subject heading. Foxe's recognition that readers faced a difficult task at locating specific passages is apparent in the provision of an aid to enable readers to navigate a 140-page-long account of the deeds, arrest, and legal examination of his *bête noir*, Bishop Stephen Gardiner. Containing 150,000 words, this complicated account of the chief opponent of the Edwardian Reformation functions in the manner of a book inserted at the center of an encyclopedic book (pp. 728–867). This readers' guide consists of an intermediate index containing three pages of headings with cross-references to specific passages by pages and columns. Within these "Notes for the Reader," the compiler apologizes that "it may seme . . . that we have ben to prolix and tedious in reciting the multitude of so many witnesses, which neaded not here peraventure to have bene inserted, considering our other matters more necessary, and the greatness of the volume" (pp. 861–63). This *ad hoc* index disappears in the 1570 edition, in which Foxe truncates his account of Stephen Gardiner at the same time that he collaborates in the addition of many aids to reading that are absent in the first edition.

2. Second edition (1570)

High-ranking officials encouraged broad dissemination of the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, which is much longer and weightier than the 1563 version. Printed on heavy paper and bound in sturdy bindings, chained copies of this durable and expensive book were well suited for reading at lecterns in public and private locations. It seems likely that William Cecil, the patron of Foxe and Day, took a leading role in crafting a 1570 directive designed to ensure public access to this book. This order of the Privy Council instructed the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Bishop of London to ensure that parish churches acquire copies of Foxe's book on the ground that it was "very profitable to bringing her majesty's

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; as translated in Oastler, *John Day*, p. 27.

subjects into good opinion, understanding and dear liking of the present government.”⁹⁶ According to this directive, it would take a place alongside publicly accessible copies of the Bible. The upper house of the Convocation of Canterbury acted along similar lines by issuing an order during the following year that enjoins archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons to acquire copies for reading in their households.⁹⁷ Many parish churches chained copies for public reading alongside the Bible, but the long-standing view that the book was required by law “to be kept in every church for the people to read in” represents a stubborn myth.⁹⁸ Indeed, the rate of production was insufficient to keep up with demand from the more than 8,000 parish churches in England. Other encouragements existed, such as the 1 February 1571 order of the aldermen of the City of London that copies be placed in Orphan’s Court and guildhalls of companies that could afford to buy the book.⁹⁹

Contrary to William Turner’s criticism of John Day for driving up the cost of the *Book of Martyrs*, the printer-publisher appears to have consistently favored a less expensive reprint. Recognizing that the expense of paper is the chief determinant of the overall price of a book, the printer seems to have encouraged Foxe to delete material from the first edition. The compiler accordingly extricated large blocks of material, such as the extensive correspondence between Edward VI and Lady Mary whose inclusion had resulted in the unplanned interpolation of an entire signature in the 1563 edition (see above). Although he deleted a considerable amount of material found in the first edition, his additions increased the text’s length from 1.8 to 3.5 million words. Roman Catholic allegations that Protestants were innovators who departed from tenets of early Christianity (e.g., “Where was your church before Luther?”) led him to incorporate hundreds of pages of documentation concerning the first millennium of the Christian era. Foxe also added a significant amount of new material concerning the Marian persecutions and other subjects.

⁹⁶ York, Borthwick Institute, Institution Act Book 2, part 3, fol. 85^v; as quoted in Evenden and Freeman, “John Foxe,” p. 30.

⁹⁷ *A Book of Certain Canons, Concerning Some Part of the Discipline of the Church of England* (1571), pp. 6, 9.

⁹⁸ William Prynne, *Canterbury’s Doom. Or the First Part of a Complete History of the Commitment, Charge, Trial, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud Late Archbishop of Canterbury* (1646), pp. 87–88. Leslie M. Oliver debunks this view in “The Seventh Edition of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 37 (1943), pp. 245–47.

⁹⁹ Arber, *Transcript*, 1.496; W. W. Greg, ed., *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 13.

In all likelihood, Foxe's overall expansion of the size of this book contributed to the shortage of the original paper stock. When he had depleted it, Day resorted to the expedient of pasting together two smaller sheets of writing paper in order to create sheets comparable in size to those already printed. The distribution of the pasted sheets enables us to identify the last-printed sections of this edition. In addition to the preliminary pages of the book as a whole, which pressmen typically produced at the very end of a print run, these late additions also embrace a well-illustrated attack on the papacy ("The Proud Primacie of Popes") at the conclusion of volume 1, the title page of volume 2, twenty gatherings at the end of volume 2 (4li to 5I), and scattered cancellations.¹⁰⁰

The distribution of makeshift sheets indicates that Foxe actively sculpted the conclusion of volume 1 as the second edition was going through the press. His additions contributed not only to the expansion of this book, but also to abandonment of the one-volume design of the first edition, which began effectively with the oppression of the Wycliffites. He collaborated with John Day in dividing the text into two volumes that supplied the model for four ensuing editions (1576, 1583, 1596, and 1610). Moving back to the origins of ecclesiastical history at the time of the primitive church, the first volume of the 1570 version begins at a chronological point much earlier than the era when the 1563 version had effectively begun. The conclusion of the first volume accordingly corresponds to the historical moment when papal authority attains its apogee prior to apocalyptic defeat brought by the Protestant Reformation:

And thus stode the government of this Realme of England all the tyme before the Conquest, till Pope Hildebrand [i.e., Gregory VII] . . . began first to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4) under foote. Then folowed the subduing of other Emperours, Kings, and subjectes after that . . . till at last, the tyme of theyr iniquitie beyng complete, through the Lordes wonderfull workyng, theyr pride had a fall, as in the next Volume ensuyng (the Lord so grauntyng) shall by proces of history be declared. (2M2^v)

Viewing history in terms of *de casibus* tragedy, Foxe envisions the pope perched at the apex of Fortune's wheel prior to his downfall, which undergoes delineation in volume 2.

¹⁰⁰ Paul S. Dunkin, "Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, 1570, and Single-Page Imposition," *The Library* Fifth series 2 (1947), pp. 159–70. This article challenges the argument that Day printed the smaller paper via half-sheet imposition, which Leslie M. Oliver had stated in "Single-Page Imposition in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, 1570," *The Library* Fifth series 1 (1946), pp. 49–56.

The printing of the title page for the second volume suggests that Day and Foxe may have reached a late decision to divide the text into two volumes. By beginning the second volume at the accession of Henry VIII, Foxe and Day create a textual hinge that places great emphasis upon his reign as the time when England declared its independence from the Church of Rome. By adding an illustration of Henry VIII in Council as a frontispiece to volume 2,¹⁰¹ Day stresses the institution of royal supremacy over the Church of England as a providential victory over papal usurpation. This is not to deny that Foxe had serious reservations concerning the king's failure to introduce genuinely Protestant theology and ritual. Nevertheless, this bold new beginning represents a sharp departure from the subject matter of "The Proud Primacie of Popes," which he and Day added at the last minute as a coda to the first volume. The printer derived the text of this epilogue from *A Solemn Contestation of Diverse Popes*, a small and unillustrated book attributed to John Foxe that the printer had published c. 1560.¹⁰² This section takes the form of a mock-monologue delivered by Antichrist, whose words consist of texts from papal decrees, decretals, bulls, and so forth. A newly commissioned set of large narrative woodcuts, which portray successive victories of papal authority over secular power, functions as a profound textual marker that calls attention to the way in which the two separate volumes face each other in the manner of a diptych (see Chapter 3.B).

The radical revision in the *Book of Martyrs* helps us to understand why high-ranking officials encouraged the acquisition of copies for reading in public places. Foxe's intensification of antipapal animus as the second edition was in press was in keeping with the nationalistic reaction against the recent Roman Catholic challenge to the Elizabethan religious settlement. As Foxe and Day worked on the second edition, a number of earls in the North of England rose in rebellion in October 1569 in order to secure the freedom of Mary, Queen of Scots, and to marry her to Thomas Howard as part of a larger plot to depose Elizabeth I and secure a Roman Catholic succession. A decade of relative toleration of English Catholics came to a close in February 1570, when Pope Pius V promulgated *Regnans in Excelsis*, a bull in which he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and urged her subjects to overthrow her. English Catholics accordingly fell under

¹⁰¹ Misidentified as a metalcut in L&I 12721/1, this woodcut first appeared in Edward Hall's *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (1548).

¹⁰² Thomas Freeman, "A Solemn Contestation of Diverse Popes: A Work by John Foxe?" *English Language Notes* 31.3 (March 1994), pp. 35–42.

suspicion of complicity with the intrigues of foreign Catholic powers. Foxe's last-minute inclusion of a dense antipapal excursus into the second edition accords with contemporary demonization of the pope as a minion of Antichrist. Fears of this kind infuse a new preface – "To all the professed frendes and folowers of the Popes procedyngs. Foure Questions propounded" (*4-¶1^r) – that supplemented prefatory material that he carried over from the first edition.

The 1570 version embodies an ambivalent stance according to which Foxe champions England's independence from the Church of Rome at the same time that he articulates discontent with the progress of ecclesiastical reform within the Church of England. He reflects nationalistic fears of Roman Catholic "peril" in rewriting the dedication, which now engages in an extended attack upon papist critics of the *Book of Martyrs* as "evill disposed persons, of intemperant tounes . . . [who] would not suffer me so to rest, fummyng and freatyng, and raising up suche miserable exclamations at the first appearyng of the booke" (*1^r). Devoting this dedication to polemical controversy rather than an appeal for patronage represents an unusual move. This revision corresponds to a tempering of the compiler's original praise of Elizabeth as a pious ruler who governs in the manner of a latter-day Emperor Constantine. The initial capital C now calls attention not to her likeness to the Roman emperor, but to Foxe's opening praise of "Christ the Prince of all Princes who hath placed you in your throne of majesty, under him to governe the Church and Realme of England, geve your royall highnes long to sit, and many yeares to raigne over us, in all florishyng felicitie, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your subjects." In honoring her as "our peaceable Salome" (i.e., as a latter-day King Solomon), he applies a more conventional and modulated iconographical formula to the queen. In a telling move, Foxe's salutation shifts from styling her as "supreme governour" of ecclesiastical and temporal affairs (1563, B1^r) to addressing her as the "principall governour . . . under Christ the *supreme head* of the same, &c." (1570, *1^r).

By stressing the supremacy of Christ, Foxe hints at criticism of the queen as one who has failed to fulfill expectations that she would not only restore the Edwardian settlement of religion, but also go beyond it by implementing a full set of ecclesiastical reforms. Foxe shared the disappointment of members of the early Puritan movement, who were critical of Elizabeth's retention of a crucifix in her private chapel and called for abolition of the wearing of clerical vestments and other vestiges of Roman Catholicism. Friends and associates of Foxe including Robert Crowley, Laurence Humphrey, and William Turner, adhered to the protest against

the requirement that clergy wear the surplice and clerical attire.¹⁰³ Foxe's provision of a new dedication corresponds to his highly topical revision of "The Miraculous Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth," to which he adds a number of anecdotes that detract from the queen's standing as a defender of "true" religion. He not only inserts a description of her compliant attendance at Mass during imprisonment at the Tower of London, but he also implicitly tarnishes her image by including details about attendants who incurred considerable personal risk by demonstrating their nonconformity. At the same time, he exaggerates her conformity by suppressing a manuscript account of disapproval of court preachers who attacked ecclesiastical reforms enacted by her father and brother.¹⁰⁴

Many disruptions in collation demonstrate that Foxe continued to work under pressure and to provide unstable copy to which he frequently added new material, thus forcing pressmen to insert unplanned signatures.¹⁰⁵ Addition of a considerable amount of heterogeneous material concerning the final years of the reign of Henry VIII contributes to his critique of Elizabeth's failure to root out vestiges of Catholic ceremonial because he implicitly likens her policy to her father's failure to implement thorough ecclesiastical reform. Covering different incidents across the latter part of Henry's reign, pressman surely printed this section concurrently with or after the following one, which concerns the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. We may infer this not only because of irregularity in collation and mispagination, but also because Foxe adds newly acquired material out of chronological order. His comment about filling an empty page at the end of his coda concerning the reign of Henry VIII indicates that its printing began after that for the following section was under way:

And thus to finish this booke, I thought here to close up kyng Henries raygne. But because a lyttle vacant space of emptie paper remayneth behind nedefull to be filled up, to employ therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annexe hereunto one story which happened in this king Henryes raygne. Which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of thys our matter now in hand, yet neverthesse to supply the rowme, it may stand in some place, eyther to refresh the travailed minde of the Reader, wearyed with other stories, or els to disclose the detestable impietie of these counterfait sectes of Monkes and Friers. . . (p. 1478)

We may note further evidence concerning the resculpting of the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs* in Foxe's systematic deletion of Latin text

¹⁰³ See *ERL*, pp. 431–32.

¹⁰⁴ Freeman, "Providence and Prescription," pp. 37–40.

¹⁰⁵ Roberts, "Bibliographical Aspects," pp. 46–48.

found in the first edition. We have no way of knowing whether he acted in response to William Turner's criticism concerning the presence of superfluous Latin documentation in the 1563 version. Not only do these deletions enhance the progressive vernacularity of the *Book of Martyrs*, they permit Foxe to streamline the 1570 text in many respects. For example, he explains that he provides a translation of the formal condemnation of a martyr as a template for other condemnations: "The copie of which . . . here I thought to put down in English, to the intent that the same being here once expressed, may serve for all other Sentences condemnatory through the whole story to be referred unto." Not only does he omit the original Latin document, which lacks an English translation in 1563, he also abbreviates his text by asking the reader to remember his translation of the formulaic words of this condemnation.¹⁰⁶

In other instances, Foxe typically retains English translations of deleted Latin material. Because these passages are in the vernacular, compositors set them in black letter. Nevertheless, they insert diple into the margin alongside each line of a quotation translated from Latin.¹⁰⁷ A descendant of an ancient *nota* (>), this marginal notation differentiated between the lines of a quoted document and the surrounding text. In this instance, these inverted commas are a visual sign that black-letter text functions as a surrogate for a deleted Latin original that was originally printed in italics. The marking of a translated letter from Thomas à Becket to King Henry II provides a good example (Figure 16). This style of quotation mark is absent from the first edition, because compositors relied upon the contrast between humanistic typefaces and black letter to differentiate between Latin quotations and vernacular translations. Diples are rare in the 1576 and absent in the 1583 editions because compositors shifted to the printing of translations from Latin in humanistic typefaces, whereas they continued to set untranslated vernacular text in black letter.

Even though Foxe drew upon Henry Bull's edition *Comfortable Letters* (see Chapter 1.B) in adding masses of letters written by Marian martyrs such as Hugh Latimer and John Bradford, he further streamlines his text by eliminating Latin letters and documents by Bishops Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner, whom Protestants vilified for their leadership of heresy prosecutions under Mary I. The compiler accordingly abridges his extended account of Gardiner's opposition to changes in religion imposed under Edward VI. Shortened to about one-third of its original length, this

¹⁰⁶ 1563, pp. 1029–30; 1570, p. 1661.

¹⁰⁷ See Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 58.

K. Henry the.2. A letter of Tho. of the Church.

Becket to the king.

279.

both specially condempne me (in that as yet, we are dete-
ned in exile) to tpe into your maiesties letters commo-
nitor, exhortatorie, and of correction. But I would to
God they were fully able to correct least I be to great
a shouer of your outrages (if there be any) as in deede
these are; so the which we are not a little sore, I meane
specially of them which are done by you in euery place,
about y^e church of God & the ecclesiastical persons, with
out any reuerence either of dignity o: person; and leaue
also that I appeare negligēt to the great daunger of my
soule (for without doubt he beareth the offence of hym
which doth committe any offence; who negligently to cor-
rect that, which an other ought to amend. For it is witt
ten not onlie they which doo commit euil, but also they
which suffer therunto are counted partakers of y^e same.
For they verely do consent, which whi they both might
and ought, do not rectify o: not the least reprove. For the
error, which is not rectified is allowed, and the truth which
is not defended is oppressed; neither doth it lacke a p^ro-
p^r note of seuerity in him, which ceaseth to withstand a
manifest mischief. 2. For the as most noble prince) a
small city doth not diminish y^e prerogative of so mighty
a kingdom; as paules is for your royall power ought not
to oppose o: change the measure of the religious dis-
penation; for it is granted alwaies by the lawes, that
all inuasions against piety, should proceede by the
determination of piety. For whatsoeuer bishops they
are allowed that they do erre as other men doo, not exce-
ding in any point contrary to y^e religion of faith; they y^e
ought not, nor can in any case be iudged of the secu-
lar power. And yet, it is the part of a good and religious
prince, to repaire the ruinous churches, to build newe;
to honour the piety, and with great reuerence to defend
them; rather the frame of the godly prince of most hap-
py memory, Constantine, which said, whi a complaint
of the clergy was brought vnto him. You said he, cannot
be iudged by the secular iudges, which are referred to the
only iudgement of God. And so; so much as we do reue-
re that the holy apostles and their successors (appointed by
the testimony of God) commanded that no persecution
nor troubles ought to be made, no; to enuy those which
labour in the field of the Lord; and that the stewards of
the eternall king should not be expelled and put out of
their houses. And he then doubte, but that the piety
of Christ ought to be called the fathers and masters of
all other faithfull princes; so it not a miserable madness
the if y^e sonne should go about to biting the 5. father vnder
obediencie; o: y^e scholar his maister; and by o: wicked
bondage to bring him in subjection by whom he ought
to beate that he may be bound a loosed, not only in earth
but also in heauē; if you be a good and a catholike king
I will bee such a one as we hope; o: that we rather desire
you should be, (he if spoken vnder your licence) you are
the child of the church; not the ruler of the church. You
ought to learne of the piety, and not to reach them; you
ought to follow y^e piety in ecclesiastical matters, &
not to go before; thus haueing the p^riuiledge of your power
geuent you of God to make publicke lawes; that by his
benefices you should not be withstanding against the dis-
pensation of the beauly order; that you should surse
nothing, but be them with a wholesome disposition.
And herfore, in those things which contrare vnto that
you haue (though your malicious counsel rather then
by your own mind) wickedly surse; with all humilitie
a satisfaction (people geue place, y^e hande of the most
high) be not stretched out against you, as an arrow a-
gainst the marke. For the most high) hath bened y^e
bow open to shoote against hym, that will not confesse
his offences. Bee not ashamed (what seuer) looked
men say vnto you, o: that traitors doo whisper in your
eares) to humble your self vnder the mighty hand of god.
For it is to be loyde exalted the humble, and thoweth

dolon hypon: which also reuengeth himself vpon y^e vi-
ces; he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought
not to haue let slippe out of your minde y^e, in what state
God did finde you; how he hath preferred, honoured, and
exalted you; blessed you with child; enlarged your king-
dome; established the same in despite of your enemies.
In so much, that hereto (in a manner) all men haue said
with great admiration, that this is he whom god hath
chosen. And how will you reuare (o: can you reuare)
him for all these things which he hath done vnto you?
Will you (at the p^rouocation & instance of those which
are about you) that S. persecute the church & the ecclesi-
astical ministers, and alwaies haue according to they^r
power persecuted them, sending euil for good, bringing
oppressions tribulations, iniuries and afflictions vnto the
church and church men; do the like? Are not these they of
whom the Lord speaketh: that heareth you heareth me,
he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that toucheth
you toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verely forsaueing
all that thou hast, take by the crosse, that thou mayst fol-
low thy God our Lord Iesus Christ. Yet wilt scarcely
be (o: not at all) that thou shalt appeare a thankfull re-
uerer of the benefices receaued at his hand. Search the
scriptures for such as are learned, & you shall vnderstand
that y^e house (albeit he was clerk of y^e lord) perished, with
hys whole house, because he departed from the lawes
of the Lord.

Which also king of Iuda (whose name is spoken of)
spread ouer althorough the manifold vices; graue him
of God, his hart was so puffed vp by hys destruction (be-
cause the Lord did help & strengthen him in euery place)
that he contemning the feare and reuerence of the Lord
would surse vnto himselfe that which was not his of-
fice (that is to say, the piety) and to offer incense
vpon the altar of the Lord; for the which he was stri-
ken with a leprosy, and cast out of the house of the Lord. For
many other kings and holy me of great subsistence (because
they haue walked aboue their estate in the mercies of
the world, presuming to rebell against God in his min-
isteries) haue perished; and at the last, they haue found no
thyng of their substance in their power. Also king Achaz
(because he did surse the office of piety) was like
wise stricken with a leprosy by God.

So also (albeit he was not king) yet so much as
he touched the ark and helde it, when it would haue fal-
len by the vnrulines of the oren (which thing percering)
not vnto hym, but vnto the ministers of the church) was
stricken by the wrath of god & fell down dead by the ark.
Which it is a famous p^rouerbe: that a man soe war-
ned by another mans inuoluntarie, will take the better
waie vnto himselfe. For euery man hath hys owne busi-
ness in hand, when hys neighbours house is on fyre.
Deare beloued king, God would haue the disposing of
those things which pertaine vnto y^e church, to belong on-
ly vnto piety, & not vnto the secular power. Do not cha-
lenge vnto thy selfe therfore, another mans right; either
strive against him, by whom all things are ordeined;
least thou seeme to strue against his benefices, of whom
y^e hath receiued thy power. For by the commo: lawes,
and not by the secular power, and by the bishops and
piety; almighty God would haue the cleargy of y^e chris-
ten religion to be ordeined and ruled. And christiā kings
ought to submit all their doings vnto ecclesiastical r^ul-
ers, & not to preferre themselves; so it is written, y^e none
ought to iudge y^e bishops but only y^e church; neither doth
it pertaine vnto mans law to geue sentence vpon any
such. Christiā princes are accustomed to be obedient
vnto the statutes and ordinances of the church, and not
to preferre their owne power. A prince ought to submitte
himselfe vnto the bishops, and not to iudge the bishops;
for there are two things wherof the world is chiefe go-
uerne; (that is to say) the sacred autowine of bishops and
royal

16. Descended from medieval manuscript *nota*, diplees constitute an ancestor of the modern practice of marking of quotations with inverted commas. They here differentiate between a translation of a letter from Thomas Becket to King Henry II and the body of the text, both of which are set in black letter. These marginal diplees indicate that this black-letter translation functions as a surrogate for omitted Latin text that was printed in italics in the 1563 version of Foxe's book. *Book of Martyrs* (1570), p. 275.

simplified account of Gardiner's activity no longer requires the intermediate index found in the 1563 edition. Nevertheless, Foxe insists that this deleted material is not unimportant by referring the reader to the 1563 edition as a definitive text: "For the ful tractation of Steven Gardiners storye, read in the booke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition, pag. 728." Foxe offers the following rationale:

Partly also consideryng how this present volume is growen all ready very large and great, I thought not to pester the same with any more superfluitie, then needes must, and therefore leavyng out his idle letters, his long processe of Articles & examinations, his tedious talke with y^e multitude of depositions brought in against him, & other his Actes and interlocutories superfluous, I minde here (y^e Lord willing) briefly & summarely to excerpe onely the principall effectes, as to the story may seme most appertenent. (p. 1521)

In rationalizing cuts in documentation here and elsewhere by referring the reader to the first edition, Foxe may base his argument not only on the need to avoid prolixity, but also on collaboration with his publisher in a shrewd marketing practice designed to encourage readers to acquire the second edition, rather than remain content with just one. This strategy warrants comparison with the presentation of correspondence by John Hooper in Bull's *Comfortable Letters*. A note in this edition might encourage readers with a particular interest in this material to acquire Foxe's martyrological history: "More of his letters ye shall read in the booke of Letters of the Martyrs" (p. 1686).

The extensive reorganization of the second edition encountered resistance. In a letter dated 3 February 1582, Simon Parrett, whose friendship with Foxe dated back to their residence at Magdalen College, takes a position opposed to that of William Turner in objecting to the compiler's attempt to control the length of the book by omitting previously published material. Indeed, he remonstrates against the steady vernacularization of the book when he advocates "leaving out nothing: either latten or english as yow have done in many places in *your* latter edition referring the reader unto the fyrst edition: as though *everye* man hath: or can have all the edicions." He furthermore requests that Foxe provide complete citations for material that he does retain: "Moreover I woold wish that yo^w woold quote the booke: & the chapiter of *everye* particular authoritye w^{ch} yo^w doo alleadge in *your* woorke: as also in what tyme *everye* writer was."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ BL MS Harley 416, fol. 204r.

In a further enhancement of vernacularity, Foxe assimilates Anglo-Saxon texts attributed to Aelfric, the tenth-century Abbot of Eynsham (Figure 17). John Day had already published them in *A Testimony of Antiquity* (c. 1566), an octavo edited by John Joscelyn. Employing the same great primer fount that the printer had commissioned for this Anglo-Saxon edition, the compositor rendered the translation accessible to less learned readers by setting it in black letter. This combination of founts for ancient and early modern forms of the English language accordingly enlists typography on behalf of the view of Parker, Bale, and others that the Church of England embodies a “true” apostolic tradition independent from the Church of Rome. Foxe employs the Anglo-Saxon version of an Easter sermon in which the tenth-century grammarian opposes transubstantiation in order to support the belief that the vernacular documents of native English Christianity are superior to the Latin liturgy of the Church of Rome. In this particular instance, the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon text takes on a quasi-talismanic character because very few readers had mastered this tongue. Foxe himself acknowledges that he has seen “bookes in the Saxons tounge . . . though the language I do not understand” (1583, p. 144). Wrenched out of its chronological context, Aelfric’s homily becomes a centerpiece for Foxe’s critical account of the 1539 Act of Six Articles, which undergoes expansion from three pages in 1563 to fifty pages in 1570. Vilifying this legislation with a commonplace epithet – the “whyp with vi. strynges” – the compiler attacks it for ensuring the conservative nature of Henry VIII’s settlement of religion through the imposition of the death penalty for denial of transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, or other traditional doctrines.¹⁰⁹

Foxe and Day collaborated in the upgrading of paratext as yet another way of rendering the reconstructed *Book of Martyrs* more accessible to vernacular readers. In comparison with the first edition, the 1570 version is easy to navigate. In place of the lean annotational style of the first edition, explanatory glosses, place indicators, citations to the Bible and other sources, citations, and cross-references of all sorts sprout up in the margins of the 1570 version. Concern for the understanding of common readers extends to the inclusion of many tables, including lists

¹⁰⁹ 1570, p. 1296. For a compelling argument that Foxe and contemporary Protestant apologists constructed a retrospective myth that lacks support in the historical record, see Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 13–20. He convincingly demonstrates that the Henrician regime applied the Act hesitantly, rather than use it as a systematic tool for persecuting evangelicals.

of Archbishops of Canterbury that occur at the ends of books. Stark running titles akin to those in the first edition occur only in Book 1, which recounts the imperial persecution of Christians until Constantine the Great brought them to a halt. The conversion of running titles into analytical headlines makes it easy to locate particular passages by means of scanning pages. From Book 2 onward, italicized headlines that designate the reigns of English kings and summarize the course of events crowd out running titles, which shrink to an abbreviated form set in roman type at the center of the page. The headlines for a dramatic opening from the reign of Richard II accordingly call attention to the burning of the bones of John Wyclif as a posthumous penalty for heresy and to the ensuing history of William Swinderby (Figure 18). The large woodcut, first used in 1563, guides interested readers to the persecution of Wyclif and his followers. As the intensity of English oppression mounts, running titles disappear by the time that we reach the reign of Henry V. In a book opening that is equally dramatic, a bold headline directs the attention of readers to the onset of persecution in 1555 with headlines concerning “The condemnation and burning of M. John Rogers,” the first martyr executed under Mary I, and “The sayinges and admonitions of M. Rogers, Martyr.”

3. Third edition (1576)

It is inappropriate to assign responsibility for this edition wholly to Richard Day, who assumed a degree of oversight for the printing of this book and some others when he worked in his father's printing house after his return from Cambridge University.¹¹⁰ As in the case of Johannes Oporinus and Robert Crowley, he took the unusual move of stepping from academia into the world of printing and publication. The younger Day's other projects included compilation of *A Book of Christian Prayers* (1578), whose sales may have benefited from the inclusion of a prayer by Foxe on behalf of a beleaguered Church Militant and its suffering martyrs (25^v–31^v). Trading upon his reputation as a venerable martyrologist, this inclusion may in turn have boosted sales of the *Book of Martyrs*. Richard Day also translated Foxe's apocalyptic comedy, *Christ Jesus Triumphant*, which he published jointly with his father in 1579. The younger Day dedicated this book to Sir William Killigrew, Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Groom of the Privy Chamber, whom the translator thanks for advancing a suit at court.

¹¹⁰ On the involvement of Richard Day, see Evenden and Freeman, “John Foxe,” p. 43.

in 1570, Foxe and John Day restored it in 1583.) Despite the fact that Foxe continued to add material at the same time that he excised text found in the previous edition, he notes that he concludes “this present tractation not for lacke of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largenes of y^e volume. I here stay for this present tyme with further addition of more discourse either to overweary thee with longer tediousnes, or overcharge the booke with longer prolixitie.” Nevertheless, he acknowledges that the continuation of religious controversy provides abundant material for future expansion of the *Book of Martyrs* and writing new books: “the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nerer it hasteneth to his end, the more Sathan rageth” (TTTTt4^v).

Unlike John Day’s other editions, the materiality of the 1576 version is compatible with the rule-of-thumb that later editions of books become compressed in size and less expensive. We may presume that the elder Day retained control of his capital investment in paper, which was not only the most costly element in the production of a third edition, but also the one on whose success the entire venture relied. Knowing that the cost of paper was the chief determinant in the price of a book, John Day surely encouraged or required his son to print this book on smaller and cheaper paper than that used in preceding and succeeding editions. We do not know whether the father encouraged his son to resort to the expedient of holding down expenses by printing with small type in a crowded layout. The elder Day paid the overheads for his Aldersgate printing house, and his pressmen employed type founts and printing equipment that he owned. It seems likely that he made the overall determination concerning the anomalous character of the 1576 *Book of Martyrs* by acquiring a supply of poor and friable paper. Indeed, the younger Day attested that his father insisted on reducing costs.¹¹² As a consequence, the price of the third edition would have been closer to that of the first than the second or fourth editions. Because it is set in type with small bodysizes on thin paper, it was less suitable than its predecessor for reading at lecterns set up in dimly lit churches and other public places.

Despite constraints imposed by his father, the younger Day devoted particular attention to the expansion of paratext by introducing a variety of innovations designed to render the text more accessible to ordinary

¹¹² London, Public Records Office, C 24/ 180, deps. to int. 4. As cited by Evenden and Freeman, who resort to overstatement when they claim that the Days squeezed “what is essentially the text of the two-volume 1570 edition into only one volume” (“John Foxe,” p. 43 and n. 72). See below.

readers. A preface written by Samuel Fleming, a Fellow of King's College, inaccurately claims Foxe differs from other martyrologists in gearing his text to vernacular readers who "shall see plainnes inough without any diceat, or cavilling, whereby his simplicity might be beguiled" (¶3^r). Devoting particular attention to the book's thick network of biblical citations, the younger Day added a table entitled "Certaine places of the scripture expounded." It lists biblical texts in the order in which they appear in the *Book of Martyrs*. Advising readers to consult the aforementioned table (¶1^r), he adds a second table that enumerates "Wrasted and unnaturall expositions" of biblical texts. As one might expect, the largest number of citations are to passages that influence Foxe's apocalyptic design: Daniel 5, 2 Thessalonians 2, and Revelation 14.

Contemporary application of these key texts in polemical attacks on the pope as Antichrist and the Church of Rome as the Whore of Babylon is in keeping with Richard Day's employment of the paratext to enhance the already strong antipapal sentiment of the *Book of Martyrs*. It seems likely that anti-establishmentarian readers would be inclined to interpret this material in support of the agenda of John Field and Thomas Wilcox, who mounted a presbyterian challenge to vestiges of Roman Catholicism and to the authority of the bishops during the controversy that erupted after Queen Elizabeth refused to permit the Parliament of 1572 to consider alterations in religion. Their outlook was compatible with Foxe's addition, at the very end of the *Book of Martyrs*, of a strident oration delivered by John Hales during a debate concerning the religious settlement of 1559 (pp. 2005–2007). Inclusion of this inflammatory speech seventeen years after the fact may seem puzzling, but does reflect the disappointment of militant Protestants who failed to secure revision of the prayer book during the Parliament of 1571. If one were to read inclusion of this oration in terms of covert commentary on events during the early 1570s, it raises the specter of divine judgment against Queen Elizabeth for her suppression of dissent.¹¹³ The period leading up to publication also witnessed the outcry against the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, which initiated an effort to extirpate the Huguenot movement in France. The proposal of marriage between the queen and François, duc d'Alençon, evoked fierce opposition from "godly" Protestants unhappy with Elizabeth's lack of commitment to further religious reform.

In redesigning the index, Richard Day demonstrates concern for the convenience of two sorts of readers, "as well to hym that hath perused the

¹¹³ Freeman, "Providence and Prescription," pp. 42–43.

same as not, for the memory of the one, for the speedy and certaine knowledge of the other, what doctrine it doth containe to instruction, what examples of history to imitation.” In other words, he devises the index not only as a mnemonic aid for readers who have digested the entire book, but also for those who search for specific passages relevant to their interests. In addition to taking the innovative step of alphabetizing entries by surname rather than first name, he introduces selective analytical topics that he organizes in the manner of an epitome or commonplace book.¹¹⁴

The extensive categories and subcategories for the letter P were especially important. Those for “Primitive Church” would have led readers to material implicitly critical of the endurance of Roman Catholic practices and rituals. A related set of detailed subheadings caters to those who wish to focus their reading on polemical attacks against “the Popish Pagane, or Paganish Papist, who glory in antiquitie, boast in consent or rather consent in boastyng” (TTTTt5^r). Readers who looked up “Pope” in the index would have discovered entries under an exhaustive set of categories: “His Name and Titles,” “He is compared,” “His election and coronation,” “His proceedinges and abominable lyfe,” “His liberalitie in taking,” “His liberalitie, in gevyng,” “His extortion detestable,” “Marchaundise,” “His Riches,” “His untollerable pride and Primacy,” “His Treacherie,” “His warres,” “His Cursing,” “His Power,” “His Bulls,” “His Legates procurators,” “Decrees, Lawes, Councils,” “His zeale to Religion,” “His Justice,” “His Tyranny,” “His Continencie,” “Diet,” “His Blasphemy,” and “His destruction.” Other entries enumerate passages concerning the “Pope his Church Compared” and “Pope his People called Papistes.”

It should come as no surprise to learn that the third edition drew criticism from the outset. For example, Simon Parrett criticized this anomalous book upon learning that Foxe had undertaken to “enlarge *your booke* of martyrs: & to have it newly printed.” Complaining that John Day had employed inferior paper in producing a book difficult to read, Parrett articulates the hope that the new edition “may be printed in good paper & a faire & legible print & not in blacke blurred & torne paper as the last edition is: being neither good paper or good printe.” Parrett further complains “that it is pittifull to see such a notable pece of woorke to be darkened wth foule paper & obscure print: & therby haulfe cast awaye. thus I am bold to open my mynd unto yo^w trusting that yow will accept my good meaning therin. I woulde hartelye wish further

¹¹⁴ See Lander, “Printing and Popularizing,” p. 78.

that yo^w would set out: all your whole discourse at lardge in ij faire volumes.”¹¹⁵

Parrett's mistaken appeal for restoration of the division of the *Book of Martyrs* into two volumes affords a key to how and why the Days produced the third edition as they did. In actual fact, the 1576 edition is printed in two volumes, the first of which concludes with a newly added woodcut allegory of Christian Justice. Positioned above the colophon, it functioned as an eye-catching advertisement to potential purchasers (Figure 29). The condensed physical dimensions of the third edition invited binding in either one or two volumes. In the latter case, each one might readily fit within a saddle bag. The sheets of paper were much smaller and thinner than those used in the other two-volume editions (1570, 1583, 1596, and 1610), which were rarely bound together as a single volume because their large size and weight made it impractical to do so. When Sir Francis Drake read Foxe's martyrology as he circumnavigated the globe in the *Golden Hind* (1577–80), he would have found it much easier to handle this edition than its bulky predecessors.¹¹⁶

Parrett was clearly unhappy not so much about the number of volumes, but about the deletion of text present in earlier editions and the crowding of words onto the easily damaged pages of a reprint that is lighter and more portable than the first edition, despite the fact that it contains more than double the number of words. In order to squeeze many more words onto each page of a book that approximates the size of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, the compositors disregarded the convention of accommodating the bodysize of type to format. It was a rule-of-thumb at Christopher Plantin's printing house, for example, that employment of “a small type for a book of monumental dimensions or a large one in a pocket edition would obviously have looked ridiculous.”¹¹⁷ The standard practice of marrying type size to format is reflected in the names of bodysizes such as gros and petit canon, which compositors originally employed in the respective setting of type for large

¹¹⁵ BL MS Harley 416, fol. 204^r.

¹¹⁶ The average dimensions (305×210×85mm.) of OSU 1576, copies 1–3, are very close to those of OSU 1563 (305×205×100mm.). In comparison with other editions, extant copies of *A&M* (1576) have suffered the most severe loss of textblock, marginal notes, and large woodcuts due to rebinding. If we assume that binders cropped the edges of different books at similar rates, damage to copies of this edition is consistent with printing on smaller sheets of paper that required compositors to position the skeleton much closer to the page edge than was generally the case.

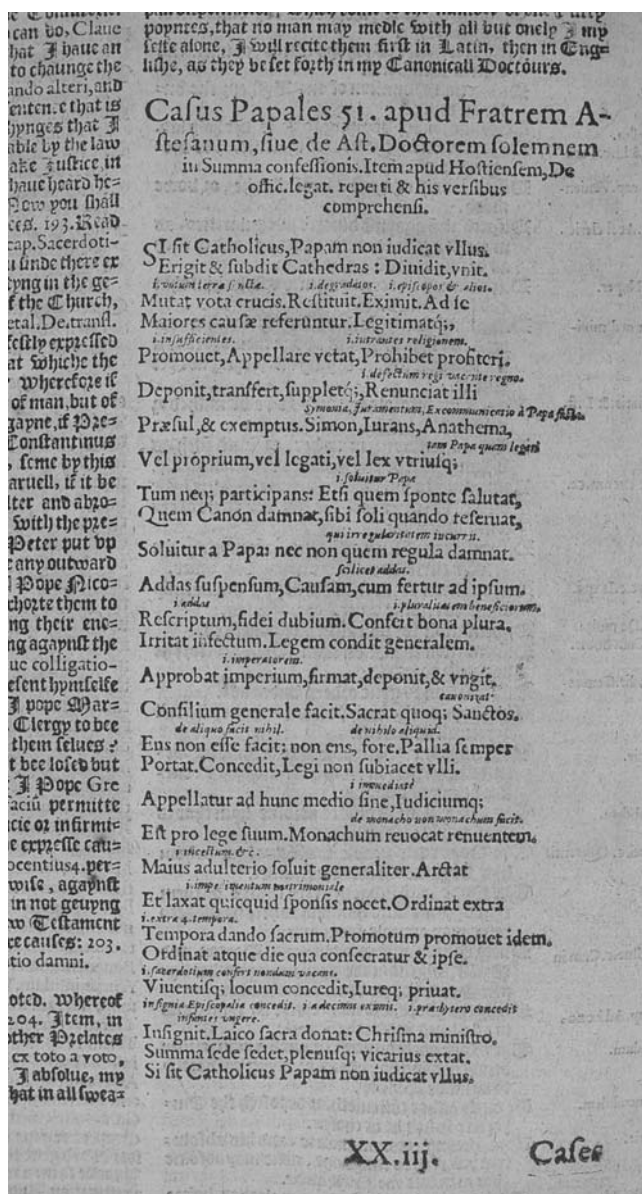
¹¹⁷ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2.159.

and small service books. The use of bourgeois black letter as the standard bodysize for the 1576 edition enabled them to squeeze ninety lines of type onto pages smaller than those of the 1570 edition, which contain seventy-four lines per page. The dominant bodysize in the third edition strains the eyes of readers more than the pica black letter used in earlier versions or the small pica black letter found in the fourth edition. As a general rule, compositors employed bodysizes no smaller than bourgeois in setting type for marginal glosses, intertitles, and quoted documents in the 1563, 1570, and 1583 versions. In the third edition, by contrast, they resorted to some of the smallest bodysizes in composing type for paratext. The names of these types reflect their daintiness: brevier, minion (or mignonne), emerald, and nonpareil. Measuring only six points, the last named bodysize tends to remain in use at the present day only on medicine vials or in credit card contracts (Figure 19). It is no wonder that Parrett yearned for “faire & legible print.” The typographical peculiarity of this edition furthermore gave rise to the incongruous placement of the large woodcuts, which protrude into the margins because they do not conform to the width of two columns of printed text. By contrast, the more spacious typesettings of the 1570 and 1583 versions enabled compositors to line up the edges of most of the large woodcuts (Series 2 and 3) with the inner and outer margins of the text.¹¹⁸

4. Fourth edition (1583)

Despite Richard Day's marked improvement of the paratext, his father abandoned virtually all of his son's innovations in the fourth edition. In collaboration with Foxe, John Day returned to the definitive model of 1570 when he published the fourth edition in October 1583 (see Figure 1). At 3.8 million words, the 1583 text is 300,000 words longer than that of the 1570 version. Foxe continued to add new material and restore certain documents excised from the previous edition (e.g., the *Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman*). Nevertheless, Foxe failed to restore a great mass of material that he deleted from earlier editions. Even though ninety lines per page is standard in both the 1576 and 1583 versions, the use of larger paper of higher quality and larger bodysizes of type addresses many of the points that Simon Parrett criticized. Both compiler and publisher continued to disregard the appeal of William Turner and like-minded readers who desired a martyrological history affordable by ordinary readers.

¹¹⁸ For differentiation among block sizes for three series of woodcuts, see L&I, p. 367.



19. The compositor employed an assortment of the smallest type sizes in setting fifty-one cases that demonstrate the limitation of papal power. *Book of Martyrs* (1576), p. 769 (full-size reproduction).

Foxe's singular addition to the paratext consists of a set of "Foure considerations geuen out to Christian Protestantes," which mirror the "Foure Questions propounded" to the "papists," added in 1570.¹¹⁹ Because the "Four Considerations" fill the entire verso side of folio ¶2, it is conceivable that Foxe wrote them on an *ad hoc* basis in order to fill a page that would otherwise have remained blank. Focusing on the restoration of the "monstrous pomp" of ecclesiastical vestments worn in the manner of "Romish prelates," they appear to be among the final words that he added to the *Book of Martyrs*. Printed at the very end of the process of printing the fourth edition, they reflect the defeat suffered by English Puritanism during the years following the suspension from office in 1577 of Edmund Grindal, the reform-minded Archbishop of Canterbury. An exception to the rule that Elizabethan bishops were steadfast adherents of royal prerogative, this prelate drew the queen's wrath by refusing to execute her order to suppress the nonconformity of zealous clergy who gathered to expound biblical texts outside of the church service established by the Book of Common Prayer. A former collaborator in the gathering of martyrological manuscripts (see Chapter 1.B), Grindal shared Foxe's sympathy with the Puritan commitment to reform of the church, emphasis on preaching, clerical learning, and evangelical episcopacy devoted to pastoral care rather than prelatic prerogative. Unlike presbyterians such as Field and Wilcox, however, Grindal attempted to reform the Church of England from within.

Foxe's praise of the "long tranquillitie, the great plenty, the peaceable libertie" of the reign of Elizabeth I epitomizes his ambiguous fusion of subtle criticism with overall approval of "these Alcion [i.e., halcyon] daies, under the protection of such a peaceable prince." His position accords with that of his patron, William Cecil, whose *Execution of Justice in England for Maintenance of Public and Christian Peace* (1583) lodges a contemporary defense of the execution of Roman Catholic missionary priests as just punishment for treason, rather than persecution for heresy. In accordance with the principle that it is the cause, not the punishment that makes a martyr, Foxe implicitly excludes Catholic readers and martyrs from the "freedome . . . of conscience, and safetie of lyfe" now bestowed on their Protestant counterparts. Nevertheless, his criticism of "contentions and unbrotherly division amongst us" resonates with the split

¹¹⁹ Thomas Freeman claims that the compiler also added a digression entitled "The Mystical Numbers in the Apocalypse Opened," in "Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)," *ODNB*. In actual fact, this application of numerology in the Book of Revelation to ensuing human history appeared in *A&M* (1576), p. 102.

that had emerged between Foxe and his onetime spiritual allies, the Puritans, by the early 1580s. He warns that contemporary religious disputes recall dissension in the primitive church that preceded the outburst of persecution under Emperor Diocletian.

The printing of "Four Considerations" coincided roughly with the consecration of John Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury on 23 October 1583. A fierce opponent of nonconformity, he ordered the cessation of unauthorized preaching and demanded unquestioning acceptance of the prayer book and wearing of vestments. Adopting a prophetic voice akin to that in jeremiads by Robert Crowley, who believed that social and religious ills were interconnected, Foxe rails against "pride and idlenes of life, double dissembling in word & deed with out simplicity, avarice unsatiable, litle regard to heare Gods word, lesse to read it, least of all to folow it, every man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, litle or no mercye to the poore, racking of rentes & fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable." He closes with a Deuteronomic warning against backsliding, which draws a barbed parallel between the punishment of ancient Israel and the reign of terror during the reign of Mary I. Foxe warns Protestants to renew their commitment to religious reform: "Otherwise if we walke like children of disobedience, God hath his roddes to scourge us." Penning what appear to be his final words for the *Book of Martyrs*, he closes with a valedictory address to the "gentle reader, that long mayst thou read and much mayst thou profit."¹²⁰

John Day further refines the typographical hierarchy in this edition. The disappearance of Latin documents results in a concomitant rarity of italics, which compositors reserve largely for the creation of contrast between headings and intertitles, on the one hand, and black-letter text, on the other. The most notable departure comes in the uniform use of roman type for the setting of both vernacular documents and translations of long-departed Latin texts. English wording set in roman type thus inherits the vestigial typographical authority of the language of learning. The higher admixture of roman type in this edition than in its predecessors is compatible with the steady vernacularization of the *Book of Martyrs* during the years prior to the c. 1590 transition to roman type as the dominant typeface for printing in the English vernacular. After this date, London printers shifted to roman type as the standard setting for books other than Bibles, theological books, and popular ephemera. Instead of a book that originally appealed to higher and lower levels of literacy via roman and

¹²⁰ 1583, ¶12^v. See *ERL*, pp. 339–57.

black-letter type, we now see a book in which this typographical division differentiates among different categories of vernacular documents.

The monumentality of this edition and its textual organization supplies a precedent for ensuing editions of the unabridged text until the end of the seventeenth century.¹²¹ In resolving issues concerning typography, textual contents, and layout, Foxe and Day provided an enduring model that undergoes relatively little change until 1641, when newly recut woodcuts replaced the original versions. Because of the higher degree of uniformity in the post-1583 editions, the following discussion will avoid the bibliographical detail of the foregoing inquiry. In contrast to the paucity of documentary evidence concerning the business practices of John Day, however, the archives of the Company of Stationers in London preserve rich documentation concerning the publication history of later editions. The remainder of this investigation will therefore focus upon what the publication of abridgments, disputes concerning monopolies, and business arrangements governing the printing partnerships and booksellers' syndicates reveal concerning a book that took on a life of its own following the death of its original creators.

5. Bright's *Abridgment* (1589)

John Day died in 1584, and Foxe's death followed three years later. By assigning his privilege, Richard Day gave permission to a syndicate of booksellers to publish the *Book of Martyrs*.¹²² On 16 January 1589, at roughly the same time that Henry Denham embarked upon printing the fifth edition, the assignees of the younger Day attempted to defend this monopoly before the Court of the Stationers' Company. On 2 June of the same year, the Company absolved the Master and Wardens of the Company from liability "in or aboute the late Controversie or striffe touchinge the abridgement of the Booke of Martyrs." An entry in records of the Court identifies the complainants as John Windet, the printer, and Dr. Timothy Bright, the physician and divine who edited and published *An Abridgement of the Book of Acts and Monuments of the Church* (1589).¹²³ With the backing of powerful patrons including Francis Walsingham, to whom he dedicated *An Abridgement*, and William Cecil,

¹²¹ OSU 1583, copies 1–2, respectively measure 350×250×140 and 363×238×120mm.

¹²² Arber, *Transcript*, 2.790–93.

¹²³ W. W. Greg and E. Boswell, eds., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576 to 1602* ~ *From Register B* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930), pp. 30–32. Hereafter cited as *Register B*.

Bright succeeded in breaking Day's monopoly. Elizabeth I took the most unusual step of granting him a patent that conferred *carte blanche* to publish any translation or abridgment without restraint.¹²⁴

Bright's *Abridgement* played an important role in the competition between church officials and their nonconformist critics to commandeer Foxean history on behalf of their respective causes. Even though the editor adopted the strategy of miniaturizing the *Book of Martyrs*, rather than providing a selection of memorable events and speeches in the manner of later abridgers, his elimination of documentary materials such as "Treatises, Disputations, Epistles, and such like" (π2^r) stripped Foxe's book of its criticism of Elizabeth I and the church establishment for its failure to extirpate vestiges of Roman Catholicism. Not only did he neutralize the stridency of Foxe's marginal glosses, he excluded topically charged material such as the "Four Considerations" added in the 1583 version. In so doing, Bright supported the effort of yet another patron, Archbishop John Whitgift, to enforce conformity at a time when critics of the Elizabethan settlement of religion were mining the *Book of Martyrs* for support for their views. The editor's excision of much of Foxe's commentary advanced Whitgift's goal of enlisting Foxean martyrology in favor of religious conformity. In particular, Bright edited out Foxe's anti-Roman invective and attack on the Mass and ritual associated with it. At a time when the satirical pamphlets attributed to Martin Marprelate tried to undermine the episcopal establishment, Bright subtly endorsed prelatical opponents of the increasingly vehement agitation by nonconformists including presbyterian critics such as Thomas Cartwright.¹²⁵

Printed by Windet during the aftermath of the destruction of the Spanish Armada one year earlier, Bright's version invited nationalists to read his condensation of "The miraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth, now our most gracious Queene of England" (pp. 268–78) as a hindsight prophecy of England's deliverance due to divine providence. Having undone Foxe's subtle critique of the queen, Bright contributed to the construction of a mythic view of Elizabeth as a Protestant heroic who vigorously advanced the English Reformation. In place of the pessimism concerning further ecclesiastical reform that Foxe hinted at increasingly in successive editions, Bright returns to the fervid optimism with which the

¹²⁴ For stimulating discussion of the early abridgments of the *Book of Martyrs*, see Kastan, "Little Foxes," in *JFHW*, pp. 117–29.

¹²⁵ Damian Nussbaum, "Whitgift's 'Book of Martyrs': Archbishop Whitgift, Timothy Bright and the Elizabethan Struggle over John Foxe's Legacy," in *JFHP*, pp. 135–53. See also Lander, "Printing and Popularizing," pp. 81–86.

martyrologist greeted her accession in the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*. Patriotic fervor accordingly suffuses a manuscript inscription on the final page in the preliminary signature of surviving copies of the *Abridgement*: “First the Crosse and / then the Crowne” (¶8^r). A worker in Windet’s printing house must have written this fervid post-Armada slogan at the behest of the publisher, because the wording is inscribed in identical contemporary handwriting. This addition of a handwritten postscript on the unbound sheets of an entire print run appears to be unique within early modern English printing history.

Bright’s epitome never went into a second edition, possibly because even this portable quarto (see Figure 7) cost more than the market could bear. The preface demonstrates the compiler’s concern with the high cost of books because it explains that the “largeness” of the unabridged edition inclines him to undertake his *Abridgement* on behalf of those “that are busied in affaires, or not able to reach to the price of so great a booke” (π2^r). The absence of John Day’s renowned woodcuts, which remained in the possession of Richard Day or his assignees, deprived the *Abridgement* of a powerful device for promoting book sales.¹²⁶ It could have accommodated large woodcuts only by means of fold-outs, but small cuts would have readily fit the quarto pages. The failure of Bright or Windet to commission an independent woodcut series may have reflected uncertainty concerning the book’s marketability. In following chronological rather than alphabetical order, Bright structured the index in the manner of a vast table of contents that functions more as a mnemonic device than as a finding aid. Its organization facilitates the location of particular passages only if the user has a strong sense of historical sequence or a firm command of the text. Multiple entries exist for sections such as “The affliction of Lady Elizabeth,” for which the indexer lists subsections concerning her imprisonment, danger of death, mistreatment at Woodstock, witty sayings, and the climax of the narrative when “God delivereth L. Elizab.” (2Z3^v).

6. Fifth and sixth editions (1596–97 and 1610)

Publication of the fifth edition of the unabridged *Book of Martyrs* was unaffected by Bright’s patent. Peter Short introduced few textual changes

¹²⁶ This book does contain a copy of one illustration from *A&M* according to Lander, “Foxe’s Books of Martyrs,” p. 86 and fig. 4.2.

in a book that closely resembles the 1583 version in its physical dimensions, typography, and layout. The inclusion of the Anglo-Saxon type and woodcuts commissioned by John Day facilitated the marketing of this book as a “standard edition” little changed from its immediate predecessor. Foxe appears to be the source of a small amount of additional material.¹²⁷ This attainment of a higher degree of textual stability than that found in earlier editions is compatible with the status that it had attained as a “holy” book akin to the Bible. It is significant that one of the few changes involves the addition of line numbering in the margin that runs down the middle of each page between the two columns of type. This aid to readers corresponded to the addition of column and line references to page numbers in the index. The heightened specificity of these finding aids accords with the way in which English readers had grown accustomed to reading vernacular Bibles with the assistance of concordances that enabled them to locate specific texts by chapter and verse. Although some precedents exist in medieval manuscripts, the Geneva Bible was the first broadly accessible English version to break chapters down into verses. In a similar way, the line numbering and index of the fifth edition of the *Book of Martyrs* enabled readers to locate specific passages quickly and easily. These aids facilitated a selective and discontinuous reading very different from the *seriatim* reading of the entire book or expansive sections that the material form of the first edition encouraged.

The financing of the fifth edition is of great interest because extant documentation offers considerable insight into changes in the London book trade during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Publication of the first posthumous edition offered a decided contrast to the ability of Day the elder to produce and market this book single-handedly in the manner of earlier master printers who successfully integrated printing, publication, and marketing (e.g., Caxton, de Worde, Pynson, Grafton, and Whitchurch). Production of big books had been problematic because of the scarcity of capital within the London printing trade. For example, completion of the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* had necessitated the formation of a syndicate made up of five booksellers who were prepared to underwrite the high capitalization that it required. With the possible exception of the Great Bible, it is the only sixteenth-century English book comparable in size and costliness to the versions of the *Book of Martyrs* that Day published in 1570 and 1583. It is worthy of note that

¹²⁷ Mozley, p. 150.

insufficient demand or capitalization existed to publish a third edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, whereas editions of Foxe's book marched on across the seventeenth century. Unlike Day, who functioned as an individual entrepreneur whose profitable patents enabled him to undertake publication of Foxe's book on his own, ten booksellers entered into a syndicate on 7 April 1595 in order to share the sizable capital investment, the risk, and the potential rewards of the forthcoming fifth edition. Working under the aegis of the Company of Stationers, their collaboration anticipates a form of shared ownership that became the rule within the English book trade by the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century. Members of this syndicate took over a job originally undertaken by Henry Denham, who had been a member of the syndicate that published Holinshed's *Chronicles*, before he ceased operations at the sign of the Star on Aldersgate Street in 1590. His failure to publish the fifth edition suggests that completion of this job lay beyond the resources of his printing establishment. The Star Chamber decree of 1586 must have made it far more difficult to publish a big book of this kind. Limits that it imposed meant that the number of presses in c. 1600 London probably numbered about forty. It seems likely that fewer than 175 printers were active at this time.¹²⁸

The ten stationers contracted this project out to Peter Short, who accepted a fee of 17s 6d per book for paper and printing in order to "finishe the Impression of the book of m'tyrs from the place where m^r Denham left." Short's acquisition of Denham's printing equipment during his partnership with Richard Yardley, which came to an end in 1593, enabled him to maintain typographical continuity across this edition. Short's investment in paper was 7s per ream. Members of the syndicate agreed to underwrite 100 copies apiece, with the exception of two partners who underwrote 200 copies. Having agreed to make an advance payment of 10s per copy, each one disbursed funds on a quarterly basis and agreed to settle his account upon the completion of printing. The contract permitted Short to print a maximum of 150 copies at his own expense over and above the 1,200 designated for the partners. Upon completion of the print run, he was to deliver the unbound books to Stationers' Hall for warehousing prior to sale.¹²⁹ After marking up the price by about 50 per cent, these stationers would have sold them for at least £1.5. If one allows

¹²⁸ Arber, *Transcript*, 2.807–12; and Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 176.

¹²⁹ *Register B*, pp. 51, 55.

for inflation, this figure is compatible with the pricing of earlier editions. The colophon makes no mention of the syndicate in its declaration that Short published this book at the sign of the Star on Breadstreet Hill "by the assigne of Richard Day." Initial sales may have disappointed Short or the syndicate, because he substituted a variant title page during the following year. It conveyed the impression that he had published a new, and therefore more saleable, edition.

After the death of Richard Day (c. 1606), publication rights for the *Book of Martyrs* and ownership of its woodblocks passed into the hands of the Company of Stationers, for whom Humphrey Lownes appears to have printed the sixth edition in October 1610.¹³⁰ This book joined other titles in the English Stock, which resulted from a 1584 compromise between a few printers who had grown wealthy on the basis of patents that granted monopolies on books with steady sales (e.g., ABCs, primers, and almanacs) and the majority of stationers, who were starved for work and income because they lacked legal privileges. This development typifies the growing domination of the English book trade by booksellers rather than printers. Sales of books that went into the English Stock, which was owned by prominent members of the Company, produced healthy dividends for the more broadly based oligarchy that now controlled the book trade. These profits were also used to aid widows and orphans of stationers, to contribute alms, and to address other purposes.¹³¹

The printer could formulate a precise estimate for the amount of paper required for the 1610 edition because the typography and layout are virtually unchanged from those of the preceding edition. Casting off of text was irrelevant, because compositors closely followed a copy of the earlier version. For this reason, close bibliographical investigation of the sixth edition is less rewarding than inquiry into the other unabridged hand-press editions. Although the 1610 version is an anomaly in the history of these editions for being the most like its predecessor, its production nevertheless resembled that of many other hand-press books that went into edition after edition. The sole substantive departure from the fifth edition consists of Edward Bulkeley's concluding address "To the

¹³⁰ Oliver, "Seventh Edition," p. 259. Evenden and Freeman claim that Richard Day sold his patents to the Stationers' Company ("John Foxe," p. 45).

¹³¹ John Barnard, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4, 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 14–17. Hereafter cited as Barnard and McKenzie. See Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London, 1960), pp. 92–95.

Christian Reader.” He had inserted only a brief note at the end of the 1596 version. Sharing Foxe’s apocalyptic mindset, this preacher had written a tract opposed to the Rheims New Testament published by Roman Catholic exiles.¹³² By augmenting Foxe’s closing remarks on the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre with inflammatory details concerning the persecution of Huguenots by “that bloody Babylon of Rome,” he provides the germ for the expansion of the *Book of Martyrs*, which proceeded with great vigor in succeeding editions. Admonishing readers to avoid “sinnes and contempt of Gods holy word” lest we “fall into the cruell clawes” of the Roman Antichrist “and into the bloody hands of her followers,” he enlists the patriotic fervor that suffused England during the aftermath of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot as a selling point (pp. 1950–52). Offering the 5th of November 1605 as the most recent instance of providential deliverance from “savage, barbarous, and monstrous” treason, he contributes to the long-standing practice of accommodating new editions of this seminal text to religio-political circumstances that prevailed at the time of their publication. In so doing, he initiated a process by which continuators fitted later events into the framework of Foxean history.

7. Abridgments by Cotton, Mason, and Taylor (1613–16)

The two decades following publication of the 1610 edition constituted the longest interval thus far without a new edition of the *Book of Martyrs*. Demand for the unabridged version had presumably diminished. During this interim, editors and publishers made three attempts to satisfy the clearly evident market for an affordable abridgement. Only one of these books seems to have comprised a substantial rival to the unabridged version across the seventeenth century. Clement Cotton’s reconfiguration of the text in this abridgement surely provided a major means by which speeches and vignettes from the *Book of Martyrs* became widely known. The other two are bibliographically anomalous in different respects. It appears that Cotton, who was a Londoner with a gift for compiling biblical concordances and popular pietistic texts, struck the right balance in compiling a book whose handy format made it highly saleable to members of the general reading public.

¹³² STC 4024.

Cotton's *Mirror of Martyrs* went into print only because of the payment of permission fees to the Company of Stationers.¹³³ All told, publishers produced a total of nine editions between 1613 and 1685 (see Figure 7).¹³⁴ Of particular interest is the 1614 Edinburgh edition printed by Andro Hart and "solde at his shop, on the North-side of the high street, a little beneath the Crosse." Cotton played a role in the publication of his book outside of London because he supplied a dedication to Lady Elizabeth, daughter of James VI of Scotland. Appealing for the protection of the pious patron, the compiler likens her to her namesake, Elizabeth I, "who (though dead, yet now seemes to live in you) by her sacred hands did first consecrate the larger volume, whence this Epitome is extracted, to the use of the Church and people of God" (A2^v).¹³⁵

Key elements in the success of the *Mirror of Martyrs* appear to have been format, typography, and the compiler's method of abridgment. Although these small books generated a lower net profit than the big ones, their publication also entailed less risk. After all, a copy of the first edition of the *Mirror of Martyrs* required ten sheets of paper versus the 500 or so sheets needed for the 1610 version of the *Book of Martyrs*.¹³⁶ In designing this book as a duodecimo, publishers sold it as a *vade mecum* for readers of the vernacular, who might slip a volume little larger than a deck of cards into a pocket, folds in a garment, or a valise. Publication of this book as the first pocket edition of the *Book of Martyrs* suggests that private readership of Foxean history had expanded, because many copies of the unabridged editions were in institutional collections or chained for reading at public places. The use of roman typeface with a small admixture of italics to emphasize speeches and sententiae in a book wholly in the vernacular points to a readership that may have ranked somewhat higher in the literacy hierarchy than the *illiterati* for whom Foxe and Bright compiled text printed in black-letter type. After 1590, the use of black letter in the printing of Bibles and other religious texts increasingly functioned as an archaic vestige.

Criticism from other abridgers furnishes clues concerning the success of the *Mirror of Martyrs*. In *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny* (1615),

¹³³ Philip Chetwind "paid downe six pounds for three Impressions" according to *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640*, ed. William A. Jackson (London: Bibliographical Society, 1957), pp. 287, 484.

¹³⁴ STC 5848–5851; Wing C6405.

¹³⁵ The National Library of Scotland preserves a unique copy (shelf mark RB.s.517).

¹³⁶ For the relative size of unabridged and abridged editions, compare Figures 1 and 7.

Thomas Mason complains that Cotton does a superficial job because “all the points of Religion that the Martyrs defended, or Papists objected were omitted” (A3^v). Although Edward Leigh acknowledges that Cotton’s epitome might serve the needs of readers “who either wanted money to purchase or leasure to reade the large book of Martyrs,” he protests that he extracts notable “speeches and acts” of the martyrs out of context. The result is a compilation in which Cotton “hath confusedly jumbled divers things together.” Even though Leigh notes that he includes “many things the same with Cotton,” he asserts that his own collection, *The Saints’ Encouragement in Evil Times* (1648), addresses the requirements of those “who would not be ignorant of the living speeches of dying Christians.” In other words, he claims to respect the integrity of complete speeches, on the ground that “the Saints are best toward their end,” rather than extract a set of famous quotations (A11^{r-v}). By crowding the margins with erudite notes on Hebrew and Greek versions of the Bible, in addition to classical texts, Leigh appeals to a more learned readership than that of the *Mirror for Martyrs*, whose margins are almost wholly devoid of annotation.

Cotton’s general avoidance of religious controversy and dire apocalyptic warnings of the kind favored by Mason or the learned subtleties explored by Leigh might have appealed to “godly” readers who lacked deep learning in doctrinal theology or subjects other than the vernacular Bible. When he does address theology *per se*, he condenses consensual Protestant positions concerning the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Polite pietism may have inclined women, in particular, to study a book for which the abridger or his publisher supplied this subtitle: *In a Short View Lively Expressing the Force of Their Faith, the Fervency of Their Love, the Wisdom of Their Sayings, the Patience of Their Sufferings, Etc.* After all, this duodecimo was more suitable to the boudoir than the folio editions of the *Book of Martyrs* (see Figure 1). Indeed, the preamble to this book represents the faithful soul as distinctively female: “Shee is not to learne in whom she hath believed: nor can ever finally be forced from beleieving.” Cotton’s extraction of martyrs’ “prayers and preparation for their last farewell,” in the words of another subtitle, distilled memorable words into a form suitable for strenuous private meditation of the kind that many women engaged in.¹³⁷

By incorporating texts by, for, or about women, Cotton tailors the *Mirror of Martyrs* to the requirements of female readers. Its publication

¹³⁷ Cotton, *Mirror of Martyrs* (1625), A8^v, A1^r.

followed upon a great upsurge in the printing of books for women during the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹³⁸ His inclusion of a prudential letter written by Robert Smith to his wife and an anecdote on “the zeale of a Christian woman” are good examples, in addition to well-known material concerning female worthies such as Anne Askew, Lady Jane Grey, and Elizabeth I. The title page calls particular attention the longest subsection of this book: *Two Godly Letters Written by Master Bradford, Full of Sweet Consolation For Such As Are Afflicted in Conscience*. The sole unabridged texts in this collection, these documents offer consolation to female readers who are fearful of damnation. Although John Bradford wrote them, as he awaited execution, to women who relied upon him as a spiritual counselor, Cotton broadens their applicability when he observes that they are “fit for all such to reade and observe as feele in them a wounded spirit.” Nevertheless, he does not generalize to the point of eradicating the identity of Bradford’s correspondents. These quasi-tractarian missives address feelings of despair that Calvinistic predestination aroused in many early modern women who engaged in scrupulous self-examination. It was customary for many well-to-do women to pour forth their anxiety to pastors who served as their spiritual counselors.¹³⁹ Written to Mistress H., “a godly Gentlewoman” who is so identified in the *Book of Martyrs*, the first letter counsels the recipient to resist doubt by remaining steadfast in faith and assurance of divine election. It closes with a prayer that provides a model for private devotion. Bradford originally addressed the second letter to Joyce Hales, a devoted adherent who sustained him in prison. Cotton takes this missive out of context even though he retains the cleric’s familiar addresses to her by her first name. This letter relies upon gendered language and distinctively feminine typology in its advice that the wavering recipient emulate the penitence of Mary Magdalen and unite herself with Christ in the manner of the Spouse of Canticles, a traditional figure for the human soul. In counseling that she accept assurance of her personal salvation by means of faithful submission to higher patriarchal authority, this letter urges her to “fight” off spiritual “blindness.” Indeed, Bradford assures her that her fear of damnation constitutes a mark of election: “Many have some sight, but

¹³⁸ Maureen Bell, “Women Writing and Women Written,” in Barnard and McKenzie, p. 436.

¹³⁹ Cotton, *Mirror of Martyrs* (1631), pp. 110–13, 305–307, 405. On the religious melancholia of many early modern women, see Patrick Collinson, “‘Not Sexual in the Ordinary Sense’: Women, Men and Religious Transactions,” in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Pr., 1994), pp. 134–36. For general discussion of the correspondence between Bradford and Hales, see Thomas Freeman, “Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuouse Women,” pp. 11, 16–17, 23.

none this sighing, none this sobbing, none this seeking which you have (I know) but such as hee hath marryed to himselfe in his eternall sweet mercies.”¹⁴⁰

In his address to the reader, Cotton unsurprisingly refers to his twin goal of rendering a mammoth book accessible to those who “either wantest leisure to read, or abilitie to buye that rich and plentifull Storehouse of Storie, Doctrine, and Comfort.” Less predictable is the declaration that he designs the *Mirror of Martyrs* not only to console the reader, but also to provide an element of entertainment that goes unmentioned in other martyrologies: “Yet mayest thou here behold the choice of many memorable things, which will yeeld thee sound comfort, and *profitable delight*.”¹⁴¹ In order to provide “matter of merriment, among so many mournfull passages,” for example, he includes an anecdote about the delivery of a sermon by a Roman Catholic cleric who emulated youths of his parish by dancing as he proclaimed the falsity of Protestant attacks on the Mass. Black comedy pervades this report about “how he stampd and took on” to the degree that the pulpit collapsed and left “the dancer, sprawling in the midst of his audience, where though he brake not his necke, yet he so brake his legge the same time, and bruised his old bones, that hee never came in Pulpit more, and dyed not long after.”¹⁴² By locating amusement in this ostensible representation of providential judgment, Cotton distinguishes his epitome from other abridgments of the *Book of Martyrs*. His outlook suggests that turbulent events of the mid-sixteenth century had receded from the everyday consciousness of seventeenth-century readers for whom the 5th of November had become the focus of anti-Catholic anxiety.

In stressing memorable sayings, for which he supplies aphoristic headings, Cotton abandons Foxe’s chronological narrative, thereby severing the connection between his selections and the historical record. Unlike the other abridgers, Cotton excerpts witty speeches, notably dying words, out of Foxe’s martyrologies. Although he abandons chronology, he imposes generic order upon the massive heterogeneity of the *Book of Martyrs* by distributing brief selections into categories such as sermons, speeches, examinations, letters, prayers, meditations, and last words. In so doing he emphasizes memorable apophthegms, puns, antitheses, tropes, and dramatic vignettes. Given the large number of editions published, it may be that the *Mirror of Martyrs* may have been at least as important as the

¹⁴⁰ Cotton, *Mirror of Martyrs* (1631), pp. 421–22, et passim.

¹⁴¹ Cotton, *Mirror of Martyrs* (1613), A3^{r-v}. Emphasis added.

¹⁴² Cotton, *Mirror of Martyrs* (1631), pp. 331 and 333.

unabridged editions in providing the conduit through which memorable saying of the martyrs were etched into the consciousness of English Protestant nationalists. At the beginning of the collection, for example, the reader encounters what are surely the most memorable words collected by Foxe. Speaking at the stake only moments before they are burnt alive, Hugh Latimer consoles Nicholas Ridley with a speech that sounds like a clarion call to their fellow believers: "Be of good comfort (Master Ridley) and play the man: we shall, by Gods grace, light such a Candle this day in England, as I trust shall never be put out."¹⁴³ Although it is easy to miss this speech in the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs* and its successors, these words are readily apparent in the *Mirror of Martyrs*.

Abstracted by Thomas Mason out of the unabridged edition and "diverse other books," *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny* was published in 1615 by George Eld and Ralph Blower. A self-styled "Preacher of God's Word," the compiler was the son of Sir John Mason, onetime privy councilor to Elizabeth I. His dedications to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, suggest that he had high-ranking advocates through whose intervention his widow, Helen, would later receive a royal patent that protected her right to republish this book, despite the monopoly held by the Company of Stationers on publication of the unabridged edition. Catering to the political prejudices of Jacobean Protestants during the era following the Gunpowder Plot, Mason sees Foxean martyrology as "a Club able to beate downe the Popish Tower of Babel" in line with Revelation and prophetic texts that "plainly shew the Pope to be Antichrist" (A3^r, 5^r).

Even though Mason criticizes the extravagant size and price of the unabridged version – "few that have the Booke reade it over, and the most part of men are not able to buy it" (A3^r) – his folio version would not have been inexpensive (see Figure 7). Mason excludes most documents, letters, and marginal notation, but he does preserve "disputations [that] I chiefly labour to set forth" (A3^v). In this he differs from both Bright, who emphasizes narrative, and Cotton, who tends to divorce memorable words from their larger controversial context. In so doing, Mason enhanced the luster of Foxean history among orthodox Calvinists such as Archbishop Abbot. Confessing that he abandoned his original plan of including quotations, because of their prolixity, Mason refers the reader to the full-length version: "Wherefore in most places, for brevitie, I have omitted them,

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

leaving them that would see the proofes to the Book at large” (A3^v). In this sense, the abridgement functions more as a companion, than a competitor, to the unabridged version. It failed to go into a second edition.

In terms of both format and audience, we move to the opposite end of the spectrum in a versification compiled by John Taylor, the Water Poet. By entitling it *The Book of Martyrs*, he employed the title by which Foxe’s martyrology was best known. In a reflexive manner, Taylor’s book may have contributed to the popularity of the informal title of Foxe’s book. This London boatman turned out scores of books, designed both for oral delivery and memorization by a popular audience made up of individuals literate in the vernacular, and for illiterate companions who heard declamations of his stentorian verses. They could readily recite artless heroic couplets of the kind that we encounter in the pseudo-Virgilian invocation:

I sing their deaths who dying made death yeeld,
By Scriptures sword, & faiths unbattered shield,
Whom Satan, men, or monsters could not tame,
Nor force them to deny their Saviours Name.¹⁴⁴

The exceedingly scarce copies of this book, which went into at least four 64^{mo} and three octavo editions between 1616 and 1639, are known among collectors as *rarissima*. We move from macrocosm to microcosm in this text, which reduces the extravagant bulk of Foxe’s martyrology to less than 238 couplets. Mirroring the two-volume structure introduced in the 1570 edition of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, Taylor apparently designed each of two miniature volumes to fill a single sheet of paper. The 64^{mo} books are comparable in size to thumb Bibles, whose height corresponds to the inner digit of the human hand. The diminutive size of these books contributed to the scarcity of surviving copies because it made them not only affordable, but also highly vulnerable to wear-and-tear. Given the great rarity of this book, we may presume that copies vanished as individuals of lesser means read them to pieces in the manner of other ephemeral texts such as almanacs. It may be that Taylor conceived of this project not as a serious didactic vehicle, in the manner of Bright and Mason, but merely “as a curiosity.”¹⁴⁵

8. Seventh edition (1631–32)

Demand for the unabridged edition of the *Book of Martyrs* leveled off after 1610, because it took a full generation for the sixth edition to sell out.

¹⁴⁴ Taylor, *Book of Martyrs*, 7th ed. (1639), A3^r.

¹⁴⁵ Kastan, “Little Foxes,” p. 125.

During this interval, five editions of Cotton's *Mirror of Martyrs* went into print. Rather than compete with each other, the folio edition and its diminutive abridgement fit together as a complementary pair. If anything, it seems likely that sales of the duodecimo version would have enhanced sales of the complete text. Because the Court Book of the Company of Stationers contains entries for the unabridged edition of 1631–32 that are unusually full, we are able to chart its passage from the planning stage to publication. Redistribution of text into three, rather than two, volumes poses important questions concerning how printers and editors updated a text for a readership for whom Mary I and her time had receded into the distant past. The addition of paratext was an especially useful means of enhancing the topicality of an edition published at a time when William Laud (later Archbishop of Canterbury) was wielding great influence as Bishop of London under Charles I. His endorsement of formalistic practices such as the wearing of canonical robes and erection of altars surrounded by railings evoked resistance from orthodox Calvinists, who feared that they entailed restoration of Roman Catholic sacramentalism and ritual.

Seeing that the unabridged edition had finally gone out of print, the Stationers' Company took steps to initiate production of a seventh edition. On 7 September 1629 it extended an offer for the formation of a syndicate of ten members to take on the project in return for a royalty of one penny per pound on the retail price. It appears that this preliminary tender failed, but a 5 March 1631 entry acknowledges that the Company had granted a license to reprint Foxe's martyrology to Adam Islip, Felix Kingston, and Robert Young, who had already begun to print a run of 1,600 copies at their own expense. The large number of copies and increase of the number of volumes from two to three may have resulted from the division of this project among three printing houses, each one of which produced approximately one-third of the book. Islip appears to have been the key figure in this enterprise. A senior member of the London printing trade, he was elected to serve as a Warden of the Stationers' Company, from which he had secured the right to publish law books that formed an important part of the English Stock. Sixteen stationers entered into a covenant to underwrite this project and accept delivery of the printed books.¹⁴⁶ Once again, we may note the contrast between John Day's ability to publish the first four editions as an individual entrepreneur, as opposed to convoluted financing

¹⁴⁶ Jackson, *Records*, pp. 212, 230–31; *STC*, vol. 3, index 1.

of the seventh edition, which involved partnership among three printers and formation of a large syndicate of bookseller-publishers.

Ruling on a complaint lodged by this syndicate, the Court of the Stationers' Company declared invalid an assignment of privilege by Helen Mason, widow of Thomas Mason, to republish *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny*, on the grounds that it infringed upon the Company's right to republish the *Book of Martyrs*. She had entered into agreement with Robert Young, one of the printers engaged in producing the unabridged edition, who had already begun to collaborate with two partners, Miles Fletcher and John Haviland, in printing an abridgement substantially different from Mason's original version. They were engaged in a sweeping expansion of this abortive version through the addition of material from the as yet unfinished unabridged version. The Court not only ordered suppression of the unauthorized version of Mason's abridgement, but it censured the "very lewd & indirect" behavior of Young in attempting "to defraud & impoverish those of this Company that bought the same of him." That is, he engaged in a stratagem to defraud members of the syndicate who were underwriting the seventh edition.¹⁴⁷

An entry in the Court Record dated 1 August 1631 provides a retro-active rationale for a print run that was approaching completion. The Court acknowledged that "certayne persons of quality" affirmed that unless the Company took steps to bring the *Book of Martyrs* back into print, "for the generall good of the kingdome," they would "take a Course for the speedy doing of it elsewhere."¹⁴⁸ When investors failed to step forward, Islip, Kingston, and Young undertook the project and contracted for delivery of paper stock. Members of the Company agreed to designate a portion of the profits "for the use of the Poore." On 27 April 1632, sixteen syndicate members agreed to warehouse 100 copies per stationer at Stationers' Hall for three years. Partners were to share the rent proportionally. Three partners per year were to serve as stock keepers, who dispensed books to partners in lots of twenty-five copies for retail sale at

¹⁴⁷ Jackson, *Records*, pp. 237–38.

¹⁴⁸ At roughly the same time, a printer in Edinburgh named John Wreittoune published *A Blow for the Pope, Touching the Pope's Prerogatives* (STC 20110). This verbatim extraction of "The Proud Primacie of Popes" out of the *Book of Martyrs* served to buttress presbyterian church discipline in Scotland at a time when Arminianism was rising into ascendancy in England. This book was unillustrated, of course, because the woodcuts remained in London as valuable property of the Company of Stationers.

the agreed-on price of £2 6s 8d.¹⁴⁹ This careful attention to preservation and distribution of warehoused copies of this book is in keeping with an expensive publication that might take ten to twenty years to sell out. The long-term nature of a project encouraged investors to take steps to limit their risk.

By departing from the long-standing publication of this book in two volumes, the printers redesigned the seventh edition in such a way as to eradicate the textual hinge that Foxe and Day introduced in 1570 in order to commemorate the Henrician schism between the Churches of England and Rome. Governed by ideology, that binary division had endured despite a textual imbalance that resulted in a second volume almost twice as long as the first. The redistribution of the text in the seventh edition resulted in three volumes that are roughly equal in length. This reordering was compatible with the sharing of work among the three partners. By devoting an entire volume to the reign of Mary I, the redesigned book placed great emphasis upon her persecution of English Protestants as a climactic historical event. The printers employed a uniform paper stock and layout, and founts of type that are almost indistinguishable, but their printers' ornaments and xylographic initial capitals vary from volume to volume. Although Kingston, Islip, and Young respectively printed the first, second, and third volumes, Islip produced thirteen preliminary sheets for volume 1 and thirty-one sheets preceding the index in volume 3. Because his volume is the shortest, he may have taken on the added work in order to equalize his responsibility with that assumed by each of his partners.¹⁵⁰

Islip's supplements made the seventh edition a more saleable commodity by updating it for a diverse array of Caroline readers. Two prefaces added to volume 1 enabled readers to compensate for their remoteness from the distant era of the mid-sixteenth century. Declaring Foxe's collection "a Librarie of learning and learned mens Workes," an Independent cleric named Nathaniel Homes (or Holmes) compiled an analytical "Table of Tables," which functions as a guide for different categories of readers. The second finding aid is an elaborate chronological table that makes material more accessible by summarizing it in parallel columns related to different popes, emperors, kings, Archbishops of Canterbury, and so forth.

¹⁴⁹ Jackson, *Records*, pp. 434–36. Philemon Stephens stipulated that his partner, Christopher Meredith, was entitled to receive one-half of his share.

¹⁵⁰ See Oliver, "Seventh Edition," pp. 243–60.

Furthermore, Islip appended to the final volume a 108-page long “Continuation of the Histories of Forrein Martyrs” that brings Foxean history forward into the 1620s, just before the index at the end of volume 3. It went far beyond the brief note inserted by Edward Bulkeley at the end of the 1596 edition. This supplement functioned as a major selling point in a prominent advertisement that the Company of Stationers inserted into its edition of Jeffrey Wilson’s *A New Almanac and Prognostication, for the Year of Our Lord God, 1633*: “The Booke of Martyrs newly printed in London 1632, in 3. Volumes, with Additions of divers Martyrs that have suffred for the Gospell in forraine parts, together with the barbarous cruelties exercised upon the Professors of the Gospell in the Valtoline, and with divers other Additions.”¹⁵¹

Although this continuation was also the handiwork of Nathaniel Homes, he went unnamed until publication of the eighth edition in 1641. Nevertheless, his involvement may supply a clue to the leanings of the high-ranking individuals who believed that the present moment demanded publication of a new edition of the *Book of Martyrs*. Educated at Foxe’s *alma mater*, Magdalen College, Homes was a strong Calvinist whose millenarian views were at odds with those of high-ranking churchmen who increasingly disassociated themselves from the Foxean ideal of the “godly” prince by asserting not the royal supremacy, but the *jure divino* authority of the bishops in ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁵² (Homes eventually agitated on behalf of the Root and Branch Petition of 1640, which called for abandonment of episcopacy.) It may be that those who promoted this new edition shared his discomfort with the direction taken by many prelates. Separate pagination clearly marks the continuation as a supplement, unlike additions that appeared to be integral parts of the text of earlier editions. Warning that the present moment represents a time of peril that will result in a renewal of persecution in England, a prefatory “Treatise of Afflictions and Persecutions of the Faithfull, Preparing Them with Patience to Suffer Martyrdome” redirects this book from the optimistic mood of 1610 to an era when international Protestantism was retreating before the resurgent force of Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

Homes expanded Bulkeley’s sketchy conclusion into highly detailed accounts of the providential “Deliverances of our *English Nation*” through

¹⁵¹ STC 529.7, fol. 2^v. The Company also ran advertisements in Wilson’s 1634 almanac and Richard Allestree’s 1633 almanac (STC 529.8, 407.16).

¹⁵² Lamont, *Godly Rule*, p. 41.

the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the failure of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. By positioning these events between impassioned accounts of Roman Catholic atrocities against the Huguenots in France and the Waldensian heretics in the Maritime Alps, he sets the English experience within the demoralizing context of European affairs. Although the continuation stops short of overt criticism of the Caroline regime, Homes's employment of functional ambiguity does invite readers to understand the text as a warning against a resumption of persecution by members of the religio-political establishment. As such, it appears to align the seventh edition with increasingly vociferous protests against prelatial abuses. They reached a crescendo in 1637, when William Prynne and his associates, John Bastwick and Henry Burton, had their ears struck off and went to jail for writing pamphlets opposed to Arminian bishops. Less than a decade earlier, Prynne had praised the 1571 order of Convocation by which prelates "were enjoined to buy, and to place in their Halls, or great Chambers" copies of the *Book of Martyrs* in order that it "might serve for the use of their servants and of strangers."¹⁵³ His "most damaging charge" was that the Laudian bishops had abandoned Foxean ideals.¹⁵⁴ Like John Bunyan, he pored over the expanded three-volume version of the *Book of Martyrs* during his imprisonment for nonconformity.¹⁵⁵

9. Eighth edition (1641) and mid-seventeenth-century selections

The Company of Stationers published the eighth edition in 1641 (see Figure 1), during the tempestuous outburst of discontent against Archbishop Laud and the prelatial government of the Church of England. We know from experience, however, that it took years to move this book from the planning stage to bookstalls at St. Paul's churchyard and other locations. It required eighteen months of concerted effort to produce the first edition, on the one hand, and two-and-a-half years to move from the preliminary offer tendered by the Stationers' Company to publication of the seventh edition, on the other. These precedents suggest that the inception of the eighth edition took place against the backdrop of the Bishops' Wars, the breakdown of royal authority at the local level, and

¹⁵³ Prynne, *Anti-Arminianism* (1630), pp. 85–86.

¹⁵⁴ See Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp. 34–35.

¹⁵⁵ See Damian Nussbaum, "Appropriating Martyrdom: Fears of Renewed Persecution and the 1632 Edition of *Acts and Monuments*," in *JFER*, pp. 178–91.

the impeachment of Laud and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, during 1639–40. The year of publication witnessed Strafford's execution and the sweeping away of the High Commission, the ecclesiastical court through which Laud exercised control. Censorship lapsed with the collapse of both episcopal licensing and the Stationers' control of book publication. Between the opening of the Long Parliament in November 1640 and its issuance of the licensing order of 14 June 1643, English printers enjoyed an unprecedented degree of freedom of the press. This moment recalled the lifting of censorship on the publication of Protestant pamphlets during the years following the accession of Edward VI.¹⁵⁶

How are we to evaluate the longstanding belief that Laud expressed disapproval of the *Book of Martyrs* by refusing to issue a license for its republication? This charge originated in William Prynne's retrospective account of the deposition of the archbishop, which appeared in print a year after the executioner struck off his head at Tower Hill. Given the absence of corroborative evidence, Prynne's accusation that Laud called for the removal from churches of chained copies of the *Book of Martyrs* is no doubt apocryphal.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, it is a virtual certainty that presswork for the eighth edition began prior to Laud's downfall. The time lag between publication of the 1610 and 1631–32 editions strongly suggests that slow sales, rather than episcopal censorship, delayed republication of a new edition. In addition to being driven by antiprelatical animus, Prynne may have confused Laud's suppression of an abridged version, which might have affected sales of the forthcoming eighth edition, with censorship of the unabridged book.¹⁵⁸ It is worthy of note that Laud owned a copy of Foxe's edition of the *Whole Works of William Tyndale, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes*.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, the presence of a copy of the 1641 version of the *Book of Martyrs* in the personal library of Charles I renders the view that Laud attempted to block its publication all the more unlikely (see Chapter 4.C). Nevertheless, neither king nor archbishop lived up to the heady millenarian expectations and the Foxean ideal of a godly monarchy and episcopacy, which informed the first edition. During the interval since its publication in 1563, "centrifugal millenarianism replaced centripetal millenarianism." Despite Prynne's admiration for the *Book of Martyrs* and

¹⁵⁶ King, "Book Trade," pp. 164–65.

¹⁵⁷ *Canterbury's Doom* (1646), p. 184.

¹⁵⁸ See Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," *Past and Present* 124 (1989), pp. 62–64.

¹⁵⁹ FL STC 24436, copy 1.

attack on Laud for attempting to suppress its publication, this pamphleteer's rejection of bishop-martyrs whom Foxe reveres constitutes an implicit critique of his book. Millenarian notions that had infused the thinking of moderate Puritan supporters of episcopacy under Elizabeth I and James I were now the preserve of antiprelatical supporters of the Root and Branch Petition.¹⁶⁰

At the same time, the eighth edition of this chameleon-like book took on antiprelatical coloration by associating English prelates and their unpopular sacramental practices with the persecuting bishops who burnt martyrs alive during the reign of Mary I. In so doing, it drove a wedge between bishop-martyrs such as Hooper and Ridley, on the one hand, and Caroline prelates, on the other. It did so through the inclusion of a new preface consisting of material omitted from editions published after 1563: "These ensuing matters were left out in all the former Editions but the first, and are now publishe^d by authority." Separate pagination and signatures in the preliminary gatherings of the second volume suggest that this topically charged restoration of previously deleted material constituted a very late insertion made during the heat of agitation that swirled around Laud's downfall.¹⁶¹ The contemporary relevance of this section is apparent through the compiler's careful replacement of passages embarrassing to Laudian bishops. Their disposition out of chronological order in a separate section with cross-references by volume and page to the places from which they were extracted enables the reader to study them as a digest of prelatial overreaching that one may read in the manner of a book within a book. The underlying assumption is that Archbishop Laud and Charles I have swerved away from the ecclesiastical compromise that was in place from 1559 until the death of James I. The preface foregrounds letters in which Bishop Stephen Gardiner opposes the settlement of religion under Edward VI, whose reign zealots such as Prynne idealized as the high point of the English Reformation. Continuing with articles of belief "untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably" imputed to Hugh Latimer, it also incorporates a 1531 episcopal decree against reading the English Bible and tracts written by Tyndale and other Protestant reformers.

Compositors followed a copy of the preceding version very closely in terms of typography, layout, and pagination. Other than the aforementioned preface to volume 2, the chief addition consists of "The Life of John

¹⁶⁰ Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp. 25, 44, 78, 94, 137.

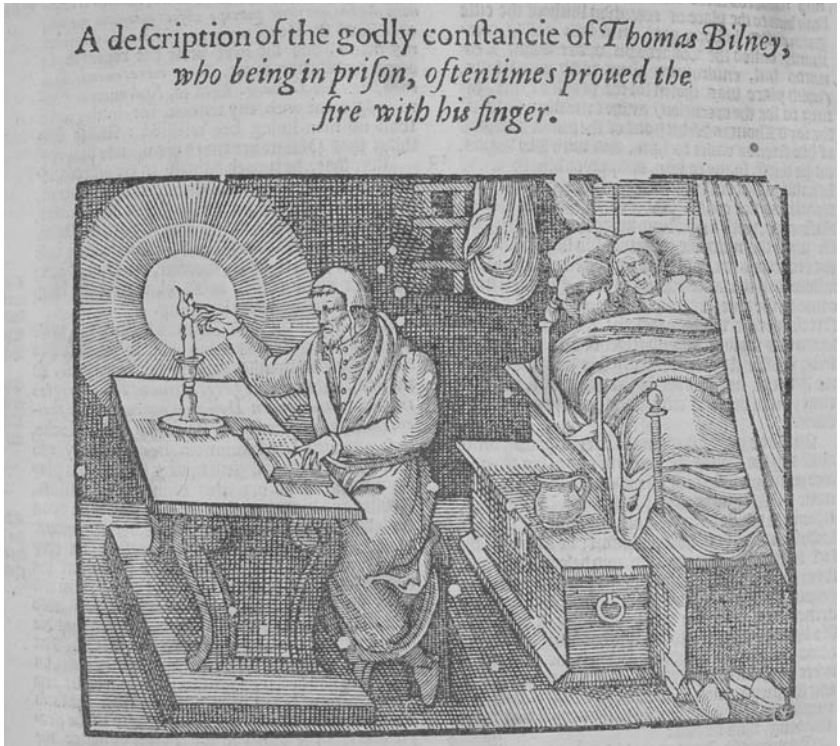
¹⁶¹ 1641, *-**4, ***3; pp. 1–22.

Foxe,” which faces a fine tipped-in portrait of the compiler engraved by George Glover. Translated from a Latin memoir written by Foxe’s son, a transcription of which follows the vernacular version, this document represents a fundamental source of biographical information about the compiler’s life. As well as underwriting this expensive frontispiece, the Company of Stationers invested capital by paying for a new set of woodblocks copied from the original repertoire commissioned by John Day, whose bold cartoonlike pictures had been a prominent feature of editions published across seven decades. By the time of the printing of the 1631–32 edition, Day’s worn-down blocks had incurred heavy damage in the form of wormholes and cracks caused by thousands of impressions of the hand press. We may note the result of infestation by woodworms, for example, in a portrayal of Thomas Bilney as he burns his finger in a candle flame in order to test his resolve to accept being burnt alive with equanimity (Figure 20; vol. 2, p. 277). A deep fissure runs from top to bottom in the portrayal of John Philpot and his fellow prisoners.¹⁶² The 1641 copies are cruder and more simplified than the original woodcuts.¹⁶³ A notable difference is apparent in the title page border, at the apex of which the wardrobe of the enthroned figure of Jesus Christ has undergone refurbishment (Figure 21; compare Figure 2).

The separate publication of extracts from the *Book of Martyrs* indicates that contemporary compilers or publishers concurred in applying its text to current events during the revolutionary era of the 1640s and 1650s. Also published during 1641, *A Letter of that Most Religious and Pious Prince King Edward the Sixth to Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London, for the Taking Down of Altars, and Setting up the Table in the Stead Thereof* (1641) is motivated by evangelical fervor akin to that of the redactor who added the antiprelatical preface to the eighth edition. Made up of one and one-half quarto gatherings, this republication of an Edwardian directive closes with an appeal to the Long Parliament to revoke “innovations” imposed by “the Prelats by oath and Canonically obedience” (B2^r). It is akin to ephemeral news books that poured from the printing press at this revolutionary moment. In particular, it calls for a return to the *status quo ante* through removal of the high altar that Laudian bishops had restored in place of the communion Table. The railings surrounding the high altar cordoned it off

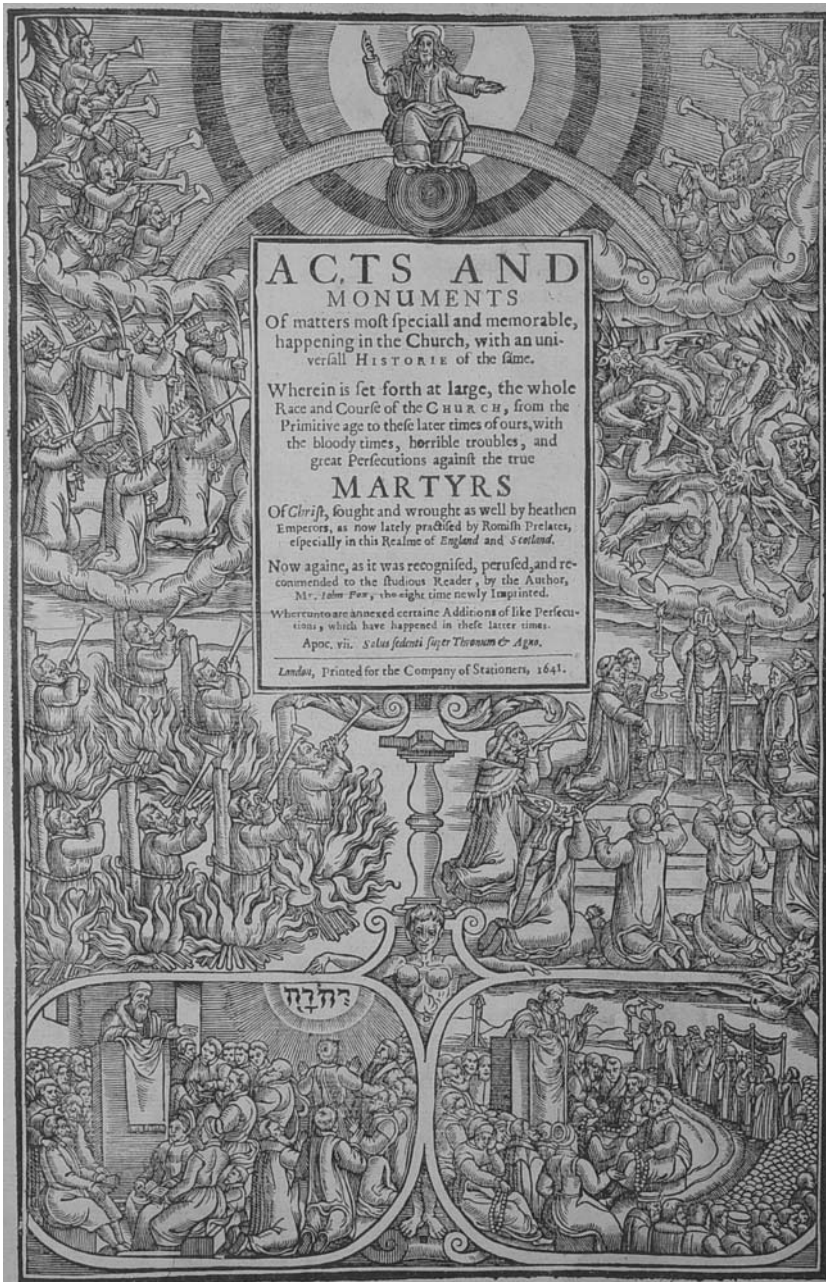
¹⁶² An incipient crack that is noticeable in the 1576 edition had become quite pronounced by 1596 (see Figure 47).

¹⁶³ For reproductions of other woodcuts in A&M (1641), see Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom*, figs. 1–5.



20. The brilliant light of the candle flame symbolizes divine revelation (compare Figure 2, bottom left) that takes on textual form in the Bible open before Thomas Bilney as he awaits execution in prison. Seven decades after it was carved, the wooden block used in printing this illustration had suffered considerable damage because of infestation by wood worms. *Book of Martyrs* (1631–32), vol. 2, p. 277.

from members of the congregation for the sake of Mass-like celebration of the Eucharist. In a similar vein, Francis Cornwell intersperses extracts with his own commentary under the title of *King Jesus is the Believer's Prince, Priest, and Lawgiver in Things Appertaining to the Conscience* (1645). In noting that *Book of Martyrs* "hath been publikely printed, by Authority, seven severall times," he attests that reading a copy of the 1631–32 version consoled him during imprisonment for his opposition to Laudian policies. In particular, he applies Foxean texts concerning the "Difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel" (A3^{F-v}) in order to attack the antinomian heresy that he perceives in crypto-Catholic "innovations" imposed under Archbishop Laud. Published during the turbulent era of the second Civil War, a presbyterian historian and biblical scholar named Edward Leigh assembled brief lives of notable martyrs and the life of Martin Luther in a highly



21. The newly recut title page of the eighth edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1641) exemplifies the replacement of the entire repertoire of worn-out wooden blocks originally carved for the first edition. The replacements lack the fine detail of the original series commissioned by John Day.

portable duodecimo entitled *The Saints' Encouragement in Evil Times* (1648). Yet another graduate of Foxe's *alma mater*, Magdalen Hall (as it was then known), Leigh designed this pocket book concerning "the Covenant and Promises, [and] Living and dying by faith" in order to offer readings "very suitable" to "evil times" (A1^r, A10^v, A12^v). It was reasonably popular, it seems, because it went into a second edition in 1651.

Moving into the Restoration, we encounter one of the most interesting abridgments, Jacob Bauthumley's *A Brief Historical Relation of the Most Material Passages and Persecutions of the Church of Christ* (1676). It exemplifies the way in which Foxean millenarianism could reach across ideological boundaries to appeal to readers with very different convictions. It is virtually certain that this abridger was the former cobbler and member of the New Model Army who had long since written an antinomian treatise entitled *The Light and Dark Sides of God* (1650). This collection of pantheistic lucubrations employs heavily biblical language in asserting the immanence of the divine in all human beings, who are accordingly governed from within by the Holy Spirit. Sentenced to prison for heterodox views, including the assertion that heaven and hell represent inward spiritual states rather than external places, he received punishment under the terms of the Blasphemy Act of 1650 by having his tongue bored through.¹⁶⁴ Although he had parted company from his fellow Ranters, whose more extreme forms of behavior he had eschewed, Bauthumley's nonconformity endured during the Restoration.¹⁶⁵ In addition to serving as sergeant-at-mace in Leicester, he secured appointment as keeper of the local library. In the latter capacity, he condensed the first three books of Foxe's martyrological history into his *Brief Historical Relation*. By recounting the suffering of martyrs from the imperial persecutions until the Norman Conquest, this affordable octavo catered to the homiletic needs of local ministers. Nevertheless, it also invited reading as a crypto-nonconformist tract that offered consolation to sectarian dissenters who underwent persecution during the regime of Charles II. In abstracting material concerning the reign of terror suffered by early Christians during the time of the Ten Persecutions, Bauthumley likens the *Book of Martyrs* to the Bible as a set of "holy" texts. Explaining that his epitome represents a continuation of the "large Catalogue of the Sufferers in the first Ages

¹⁶⁴ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1972), pp. 167, 176–77.

¹⁶⁵ Bauthumley was cited for not receiving Holy Communion at his parish church on 11 September 1667 according to ODNB.

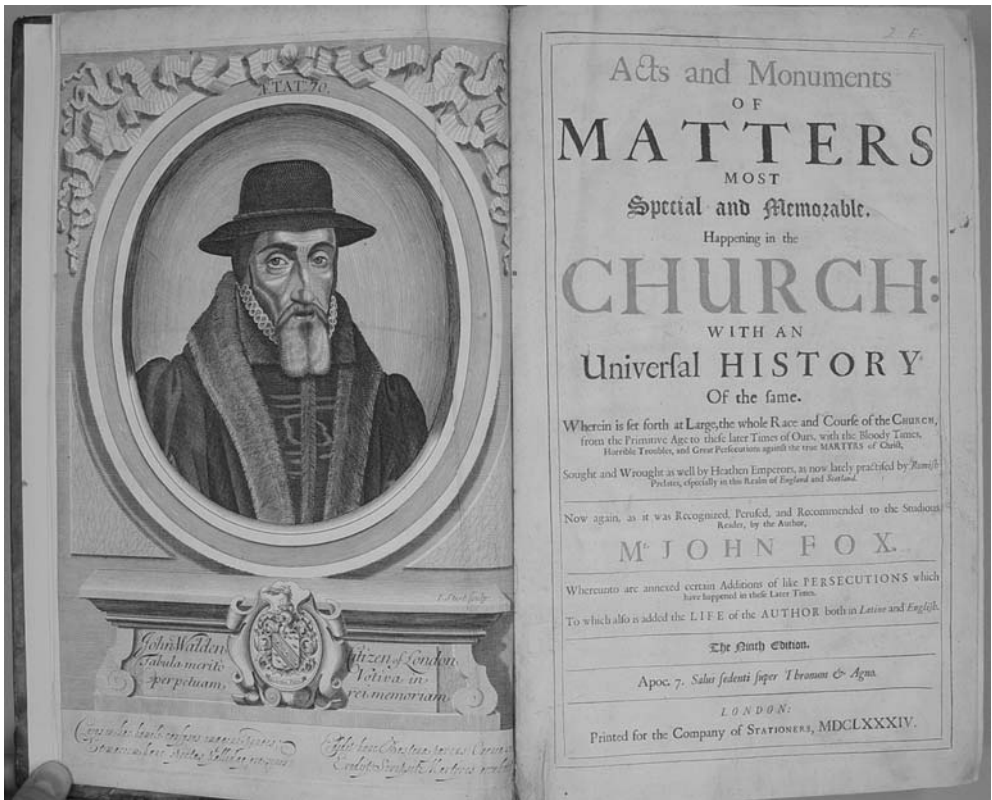
of the World” contained in Hebrews 11, he wishes “to perpetuate their memories, and to encourage others that might suffer in the latter ages” (A6^v).¹⁶⁶

10. Ninth edition (1684)

Published by the Company of Stationers in 1684, not long after the Rye House Plot resulted in renewed persecution of nonconformists, the ninth edition comes at the end of the line of unabridged editions whose textual contents and book design carry us back to the collaborative enterprise of John Foxe and John Day. Despite many discontinuities, appropriations, and redactions, the textual contents of the *Book of Martyrs* remained relatively stable following publication of the fourth edition. If readers were to skip a fairly small proportion of interpolated material, they would have encountered a text largely similar to that read by their Elizabethan forebears. With the exception of the ninety-six-page-long “Continuation of the Foreign Martyrs,” a section added in 1631, the textual contents are largely the same as those of the 1583 edition. The physical dimensions and distribution of contents within the three folio volumes are virtually unchanged from those of the two preceding editions.

Despite these points of bibliographical continuity, the ninth edition manifests radically different book construction than previous editions. On the title page, the absence of illustration and heavy use of oversize type surrounded by generous white space brings powerful stress to bear on the wording of the title (Figure 22). By contrast, the histrionic images of religious persecution that dominated the original title page seem quaintly old fashioned (Figure 2). The 1684 title is essentially the same, but the introduction of two-color printing focuses attention on the red lettering of “Acts and Monuments,” “CHURCH,” and “M^r. John Fox.” The letterpress conforms to the unillustrated style of red and black title pages that are conventional in contemporary folios that update the *Book of Martyrs* or build upon Foxe’s manuscript papers: Samuel Clarke’s *A General Martyrology Containing A Collection of All the Greatest Persecutions* (1651), Bishop Gilbert Burnet’s *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 4.C for further discussion of Bauthumley’s *Brief Historical Relation* and related abridgments and selections. On the contemporary application of Heb. 11 as a nonconformist text, see John N. King, *Milton and Religious Controversy: Satire and Polemic in Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 173–75, 180, 185–86.



22. John Foxe's bifurcated beard constitutes a realistic detail in the frontispiece engraved by John Sturt (compare Figure 31). This frontispiece exemplifies the shift to copperplate engravings in the ninth edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1684). Replacement of the old title page design (Figure 21) and black-letter typography with a red and black title page printed in roman and italic type exemplifies a shift to the prevailing style of the Restoration book.

(1681), and John Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1721). The abandonment of the woodcut border reflects the seventeenth-century shift to copperplate engraving as the predominant medium for illustrating books of higher quality. The opposition between the letterpress title and the frontispiece portrait of John Foxe (Figure 22), a tipped-in engraving modeled by John Sturt on the one in the 1641 version, resembles title page openings of books such as Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* and Clarendon's *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1702) in its conformity both to the neoclassical fashion of contemporary printing and its stress upon authorial agency in Restoration and eighteenth-century criticism.

For the ninth edition, the Company of Stationers commissioned a set of finely detailed copperplate engravings to replace the repertoire of woodcuts carved for the previous version. Three tipped-in inserts are redesigned and reduced in scope. For example, a composite fold-out portrayal of “The Proud Primacie of Popes” (at pp. 884–85) replaces a dozen large woodcuts that appeared on successive pages of earlier editions. Reduced versions of two other pictures appear on the page rather than in the form of a fold-out. A handful of illustrations in this version are used more than once to illustrate multiple martyrdoms. They are repeated a small number of times, which characterizes the reuse of only some of the smaller woodcuts in the earlier volumes. The quantity of illustrations reused, as a fraction of the total number of woodcuts, is also significantly reduced in the 1684 version.

The inclusion of engravings drove up the retail price of books. Not only were engraved copperplates a more expensive commodity than woodblocks, their placement on the same page as printed text entailed a two-step process because pressure supplied by the hand press was insufficient for intaglio plates. It was usual practice to print letterpress before printing copperplates, partly so that the requisite space was delineated by the impression around the engravings, but also because of the expense of wasting sheets printed with plates. Because the added presswork prolonged the time taken to print the book and increased the cost of labor, it made good sense to decrease the size of pictures in order to cluster them on the same page. In illustrating Foxe’s account of Thomas Cranmer, for example, reduction in the size of the pictures of his being “plucked down from the stage, by Friars and Papists, for the true Confession of his faith” and his burning “in y^e Towne ditch at Oxford” allow for their compression onto one page rather than two (3.562).

The near total abandonment of black-letter type represents a profound departure from preceding editions. Although compositors had long employed roman type for many documents in the *Book of Martyrs* and italics for headlines and intertitles, this collection had retained its identity as a black-letter book through the eighth edition.¹⁶⁷ In this it differed from English Bibles. Following the c. 1590 shift to roman type as the dominant typeface employed by London printers, the frequency with which they used black letter and roman type for the printing of Bibles remained roughly comparable until c. 1610. Roman type outpaced black letter after

¹⁶⁷ See pp. 105–109.

that date. Even though the Geneva Bible was originally published in roman type, in accordance with Swiss printing practice, the two types alternated in editions of that Bible published in England until c. 1610. It is worthy of note that printers did not employ roman type in the Bishops' Bible, possibly because they wished for this officially authorized version to mirror the typographical style of prior editions of the Great Bible. Even though roman type almost immediately outpaced black letter in the printing of the King James version, the latter type lingered in some editions of the authorized version of the New Testament as late as 1681.¹⁶⁸ This increasingly archaic typeface also remained in the printing of certain religious books and popular ephemera including ABCs and broadside ballads. The 1684 edition of Foxe's martyrology looked like a modern book to contemporary readers, by contrast, and it continues to do so to the present day. Nevertheless, the socio-cultural dimension of roman typography corresponded to the use of black letter in earlier editions published by John Day and his successors. The *Book of Martyrs* still catered to an audience largely made up *illiterati*, who had grown accustomed to reading roman type during the seventeenth century. The demise of black letter corresponded to the increasing dominance of italic handwriting and dying out of old-fashioned secretary hand.

The 1684 edition provides a *terminus ad quem* for this investigation of the printing and publication of the *Book of Martyrs* because succeeding folio versions, whose manufacture continued unabated, underwent fundamental reorganization and differing degrees of abridgment in the hands of competing publishers.¹⁶⁹ In the pages of the first nine editions of Foxe's compendium, we may read not only the history of the Christian church as early modern Protestants (and some Roman Catholics) perceived it, but also the history of English printing across 120 years. Moving beyond the early Latin versions that Foxe and his continental publishers geared to a pan-European readership of learned intellectuals, the compiler entered into collaboration with John Day, one of the most successful members of the Elizabethan book trade, in taking the unusual step of hybridizing the insular conventions of books printed in the vernacular for "unlearned" readers with techniques employed in producing books for a readership of

¹⁶⁸ I am indebted to Mark Rankin for this survey, which is based upon *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525–1961*, ed. T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, revised and expanded by A. S. Herbert (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968).

¹⁶⁹ See John N. King, "Eighteenth-Century Folio Publication of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*," *Reformation* 10 (2005), pp. 99–105.

literati. The cohabitation of these very different styles of book construction is most evident in the juxtaposition of black letter with roman and italic typefaces, which remains a distinctive feature of the *Book of Martyrs* until the reconfiguration of the ninth edition as a roman-type book in accordance with the expectations of Restoration readers. Despite a broad degree of textual continuity following the 1583 version, different publishers fitted the text to the shifting historical circumstances of successive editions. In the case of the unabridged versions, this book underwent adaptation by means of the addition of an ever-expanding continuation that extended Foxean history into the era of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and beyond. Abridgments and selections also enable us to track the extraordinary malleability of a book that appealed to readers with radically different religious, social, and political beliefs. This is most evident in the ways in which the pro-episcopalian and pro-monarchical coloration of the first edition shaded into different hues that appealed both to establishmentarian and to anti-establishmentarian readers, who included royalists, anti-royalists, formalists, presbyterians, dissenters, and others. Not only do the variant forms of the *Book of Martyrs* shed light on the manufacture and sale of print during the early modern era, they also reflect the shifting expectations of editors and readers with different social positions and ideological beliefs.

3 | Viewing the pictures

The prevalence of illustration in texts such as the *Book of Martyrs* demonstrates ambivalence concerning the validity of visual images. It is apparent that Protestant reformers never fully eradicated religious images. Indeed, variation and distortion of older visual themes supplied models for “purified” alternatives. Even though early iconoclasts burnt prohibited books, they often preserved volumes that contain intact woodcuts. At the same time, they effaced offensive wording that accompanied illustrations. The *Golden Legend* came under heavy attack from Foxe and other iconoclasts, for example, but its woodcuts often remained immune from attack by individuals who tore out pages of text or employed pen strokes to strike out impermissible wording.¹ These zealots attacked the “misuse” of images in religious devotion. English Protestants not only preserved books that contained old-fashioned devotional images, but they engaged in the illustration of books on the model of German Lutheran and other Northern European publications. Notable examples include richly illustrated editions of the Coverdale Bible and the Great Bible, a revision supervised by Miles Coverdale, whose first edition contains sheets printed in both Paris and London. In the latter case, wooden blocks crafted on the continent were brought to England for the inclusion of woodcuts in the ongoing publication of these translations. The Bishops’ Bible (1568) continued in the same Anglo-continental tradition of “narrative” illustration (i.e., of dynamic events such as Cain’s slaughter of Abel or Jacob’s wrestling with an angel). Under the impact of Calvinistic iconophobia, the compilers of the Geneva Bible (1560) eschewed narrative illustration almost wholly, but they did retain didactic diagrams (e.g., of the Ark of the Covenant and Temple of Solomon). The designers of the Authorized Version of 1611 (the King James Version) eliminated illustrations other than the engraved border of the title page.²

¹ Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: The British Library, 2004), ch. 6. See also ERL, pp. 147–49.

² See entries in L&I for editions of the Bible in English. See also Andrew Pettegree, “Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma,” in *JFHW*, pp. 133–44. For reproductions of Bible title pages,

Our understanding of book illustration is enriched by debate concerning the nature of the interrelationship between iconoclasm and iconophobia in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Patrick Collinson has led the way by defining iconoclasm as Protestant “attack on unacceptable images” that remains “consistent with the enjoyment of good images.” He rightly notes that the illustration of Bibles and other religious books declined after 1580, at a time when Puritans attacked vestiges of Catholicism in the Church of England. For a period of several decades before and after the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, he claims, Protestants tended to reject “material images” in line with “an advanced and radical application of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue.” Collinson identifies a turning away from “extreme iconophobia” early in the reign of Charles I, at a time when English prelates shifted the Church of England in the direction of Arminian theology.³ Tessa Watt has taken issue with Collinson’s thesis by noting that instead of a “sudden break,” we encounter “a continuing process of substituting acceptable images for unacceptable, albeit within increasingly constrictive boundaries.” Acknowledging that a minority of highly committed iconophobes abandoned visual images, she argues that “visual communication continued to play a role in mainstream Protestant culture” accessible to the “vast majority” of English men and women.⁴ More recently, James A. Knapp has articulated a middle position in which he embraces the views of both Collinson and Watt on the grounds that they respectively emphasize “emergent” and “residual” attitudes (*pace* Raymond Williams) toward visual representation. With reference to a shift in *mentalité* that he characterizes as “the ‘cultural dominant’” (*pace* Fredric Jameson), Knapp arrives at the sensible conclusion that “Collinson is right about the importance of the shift in attitudes towards visual and verbal representation *and* that Watt is right that the shift was incomplete, that the impact of residual cultural attitudes is available in a fairly broad range of examples from the same period.”⁵

see TRI, pp. 55 and 71; and Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 106.

³ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 116–21. See also ERL, pp. 462–64; and Karl Joseph Hölzgen, “The English Reformation and Some Jacobean Writers on Art,” in *Functions of Literature: Essays Presented to Erwin Wolff on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Ulrich Broich, et al. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984), pp. 119–46.

⁴ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 134–39.

⁵ Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, pp. 17–19.

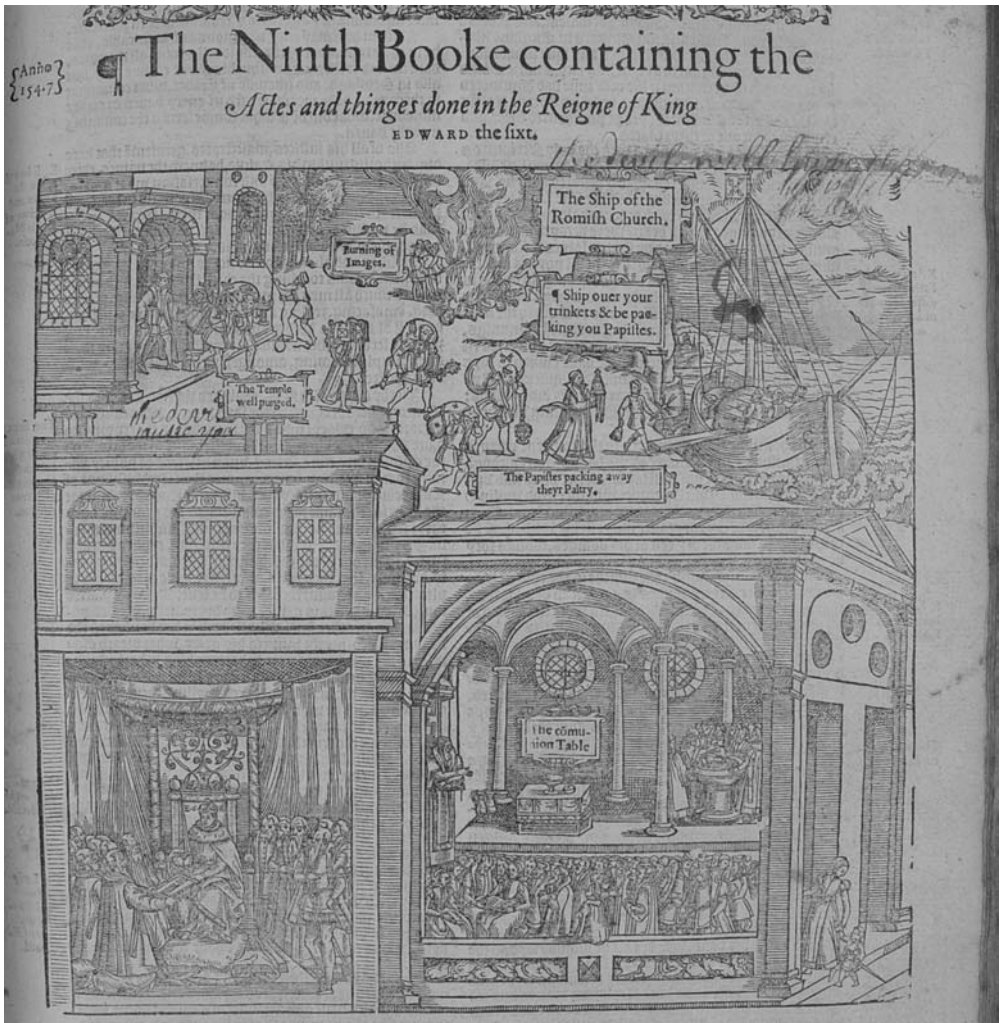
The copious illustration of the *Book of Martyrs* demonstrates that rejection of Catholic devotional images need not entail antipathy to pictorial art. The portrayal of the execution of three iconoclasts who destroyed the Rood of Dovercourt in 1532 represents a case in point in its exemplification of the use of art to attack “misuse” of art. The spectacular burning of a larger than life-size, well-muscled sculpture of Christ counterbalances the lifeless corpses that hang from gallows. The burning effigy does demystify a hallowed religious image to which Roman Catholics often attributed magical properties, but the claim that this woodcut also portrays a “vision” of the crucified Christ that “subverts the awesome spectacle of the scaffold” is unconvincing.⁶ If one interprets this picture instead as a representation of a discrete historical incident, its portrayal of iconoclasm in action corresponds to the Protestant rejection of roods as visual representations of the doctrine of transubstantiation. At one and the same time, the burning of this traditional religious image mirrors dozens of woodcuts that portray burning figures of martyrs. They include the men hanging in flames, whose iconoclasm corresponds to the memorialist doctrine that holy communion serves to commemorate, rather than re-create, Christ’s death.

The detailed portrayal of the reign of Edward VI, which John Day added to the second edition, is a corresponding representation of iconoclasm, as opposed to iconophobia, by means of the juxtaposition of the “Burning of Images” in the upper panel with the “Temple well purged” beneath (Figure 23). This woodcut corresponds to the detailed account of iconoclasm and the introduction of a reformed worship service in the vernacular during the reign of Henry VIII’s son, whom Protestants revered as a type of Josiah, the boy king who eliminated idolatrous shrines following the discovery of a recension of Deuteronomy (2 Kings 23).⁷ The foremost sculpture among the flaming images resembles the Rood of Dovercourt, albeit in a miniaturized form. Depiction of the king in his presence chamber, as he presents the Bible to kneeling prelates at the lower left, is modeled on Holbein’s seminal portrayal of Henry VIII at the base of the Coverdale Bible title page.⁸

⁶ Diehl, *Staging Reform*, p. 48 and fig. 4.

⁷ ERL, pp. 161, 177, 185–86, 426; TRI, pp. 93–94, 98, 160; Margaret Aston, *The King’s Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 26–36.

⁸ See *Voices*, fig. 1.



23. In the style of German Lutheran caricatures, the upper panel in this depiction of central events during the reign of King Edward VI portrays the iconoclastic destruction of religious images and exportation of ceremonial objects on the ship of the Roman Church. In a scene that imitates Henry VIII's posture in the title page woodcut of the Coverdale Bible (1535), the boy king transmits an English Bible to courtiers who surround him at the lower left. The scene at the lower right exemplifies the primacy within the Protestant worship service of preaching, Bible reading, and the two sacraments of baptism and holy communion, which remained after Martin Luther abandoned five out of seven sacraments sanctioned during the Middle Ages. An iconoclastic reader has inscribed antipapal imprecations above the woodcut and beneath the church at the upper left. *Book of Martyrs* (1583), OSU BR1600.F6 1583, copy 1, p. 1294.

Counterbalancing the “cleansing” of the church shown in the upper panel, the viewer sees a representation of “true” worship in a sanctuary purged of visual ornamentation at the lower right. Encountering another opposition between the “right” use and the “misuse” of art, the viewer sees a visual representation of preaching, Bible reading, and the sacraments of communion and baptism that fill the void left by the destruction of religious images and the elimination of objects of ritual devotion included among the “trinkets” being packed on board the “Ship of the Romish Church.” This iconoclastic allegory visualizes a quibble on the *see* of Rome, which was current among heretical Protestants like the cobbler who “renounced the untrue and false coloured religion of the Romish sea, wherein manye a good man hath bene drowned.”⁹ This iconographical figure alludes to German Lutheran parodies of the Church of Rome as a “ship of fools,” a traditional figure for human folly, opposed to the boatlike representation of the “true” church navigated by Christ and the apostles.¹⁰

A. John Day and the illustration of books

John Day was the key figure in the production of the woodcuts that made the *Book of Martyrs* one of the most profusely illustrated English books of its era.¹¹ He commissioned, underwrote, owned, and preserved scores of wood blocks, whose designs illustrate centuries of religious persecution, notably during the reign of Mary I. As the protégé of powerful members of the Elizabethan establishment including William Cecil and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Day produced visual propaganda that promoted an advanced Protestant agenda and buttressed the claim of Elizabeth I to govern as a “godly” queen. Also functioning as a patron in his own right, he oversaw the production of some of the best English examples of woodcut art. His publications and illustrations incorporate advanced Protestant sentiments that are often infused with vehement antipapal sentiment.

Although Day discharged the printer-publisher’s responsibility of overseeing technical aspects of illustration, we lack evidence concerning the degree to which he may have contributed to the actual design of woodcuts. We do know that printers, rather than authors, maintained control over illustration. In responding to a Catholic attack on the use of

⁹ 1583, p. 1954.

¹⁰ Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*,” figs. 81–87.

¹¹ For consideration of antecedents in *Rerum* and other books, see Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” in *JFER*, pp. 66–142.

woodcuts in an edition of *An Apology of the Church of England*, for example, William Fulke exonerates John Jewel of responsibility: “but why is maister Jewell charged with the printers, or gravers [i.e., engraver’s] fault?” Countering the argument that he would have seen the pictures during proofreading – “Forsooth you say, hee had the oversight and correction of his booke” – this Protestant divine notes that compositors typically built woodcuts into pages as the last step before the printing of proofread pages: “But what if he had, howe prove you that this picture was pressed when that leafe came to correction? for commonly such superfluous vinites [i.e., vanities] (I trowe they call them) bee not set to, untill they presse the whole leafe.”¹²

Day collaborated with Foxe in planning the illustrations for his massive ecclesiastical history. Not only did the compiler know how to draw, but the survival of a sketch in his hand or that of one of his associates suggests that he played a role in designing the drawings that artisans cut into wooden blocks.¹³ He need not have provided sketches because skilled draftsmen could have worked from written instructions. Indeed, the existence of a detailed verse description for one woodcut suggests that he identified the narrative illustrations with written programs.¹⁴ Foxe demonstrates his involvement in the process of illustration by commenting within the text on the function of the portrayal of the burning of Rose Allin’s hand: “The shew of which her burning here followeth in this table [i.e., woodcut] expressed, to thentent that he which was the doer therof, beholding y^e cruelty of the dede, may come y^e soner to repentance.”¹⁵ Early readers need not have understood this illustration in line with the compiler’s intentions.

A comment by Sir John Harington provides insight into the function of book illustration when he states that he values pictures highly because they function as an *aide memoire*: “The use of the picture is evident, which is that (having read over the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture.” In the preface to his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, he indicates that most of its elegant copperplate engravings were crafted “by the best workemen in that kinde that have bene in this land this manie yeares.” Adopting a pose of affected modesty, he goes on to declare that “I will not

¹² William Fulke, *D. Heskins, D. Sanders, and M. Rastel, Accounted (Among Their Faction) Three Pillars and Archpatriarchs of the Popish Synagogue* (1579), p. 691. Ensuing references to Foxe denote him and any associates who may have collaborated in making plans (as opposed to artistic sketches) for the woodcuts.

¹³ Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” pp. 71–73.

¹⁴ See discussion on p. 222, below.

¹⁵ 1563, p. 1706.

praise them too much, because I gave direction for their making." These plates are modeled on Girolamo Porro's copies of engravings in Venetian editions of Ariosto's romantic epic. Having claimed responsibility for the narrative design, as opposed to the artistic execution, of the engravings, Harington goes on to rank the *Book of Martyrs* among the outstanding illustrated books of his time. In addition to Latin imprints such as Andreas Alciati's *Emblems* and Conrad Gesner's *Historia animalium*, Harington cites the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, and George Turberville's *Book of Falconry or Hawking*. Asserting that the higher price of books with copperplate engravings provides an index of superior quality, he laments the fact that the pictures in books in the English vernacular other than his own "are cut in wood and none in metall, and in that respect inferior to these, at least (by the old proverbe) the more cost, the more worship."¹⁶

As a general rule, wooden blocks were an expensive commodity whose use increased the unit price of books. In the specific instance of the *Book of Martyrs*, however, the profusion of highly memorable woodcuts seems likely to have had relatively little impact on book prices because they functioned as advertisements that boosted sales, because the extraordinary magnitude of the book absorbed the added cost of illustration, and because the expense of illustration underwent dilution as pressmen reused the wood blocks in successive editions. Day's compositors set fifty-three new blocks for the first edition at the rate of one per every thirty-four pages of this double-columned book.¹⁷ Each of the fifty-four new blocks used in printing the second edition, on the other hand, corresponded to about forty-three pages of text.¹⁸ Day did publish a very expensive book (see Chapter 2.B), but the chief determinant of its price was the cost of paper rather than the commissioning of wooden blocks. In comparison with densely illustrated books such as Day's *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glass*, the *Book of Martyrs* is not

¹⁶ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, *Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington* (1591), ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 17.

¹⁷ L&I represents a fundamental resource for inquiry into sixteenth-century English woodcuts, but the present study bases revisions and corrections of its census of woodcuts in *A&M* on Mark Rankin, "Complete Set of Woodcut Illustrations from the First Four English Editions of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (the 'Book of Martyrs'), with Selected Images from the 1554 and 1559 Latin Editions," at the American Theological Library Association's Cooperative Digital Resources Initiative (<http://www.atla.com/digitalresources/>).

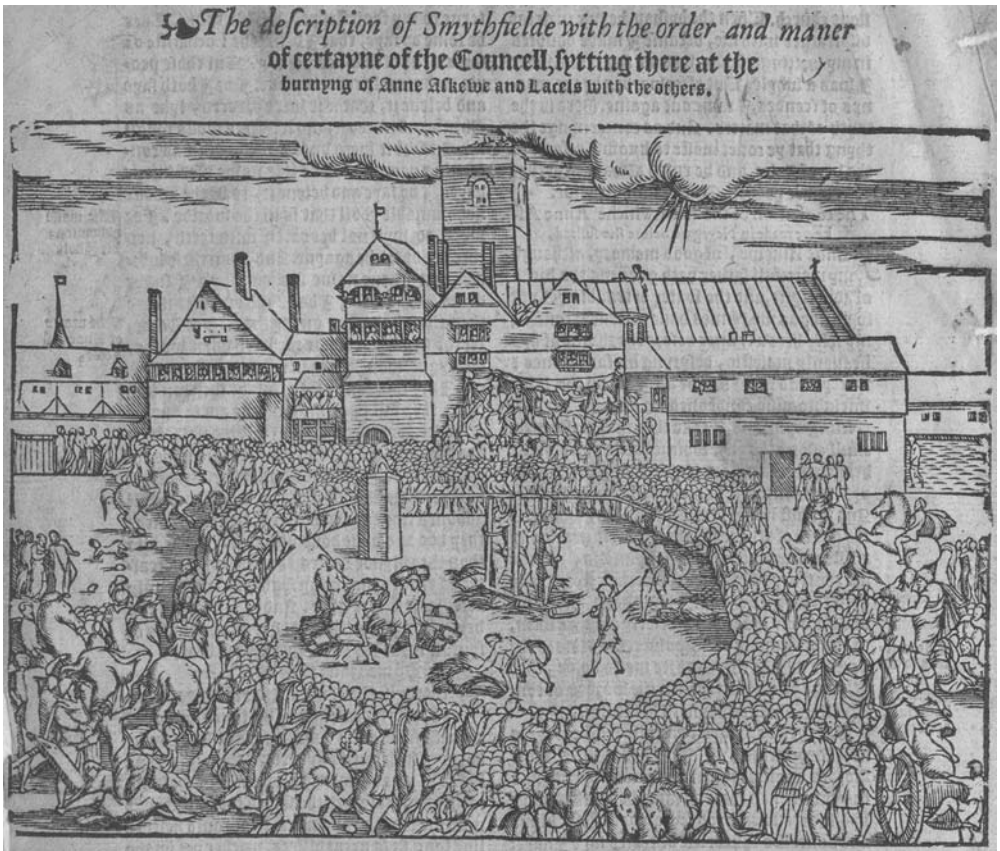
¹⁸ Each newly commissioned block therefore allowed for the illustration of about 63,000 words in the first edition and 75,000 words in the second. These calculations ignore reuses of woodcuts because they had little bearing on the cost per book.

heavily illustrated. Nevertheless, it does contain more woodcuts than any other sixteenth-century English book with the exception of the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

Skilled workers, who presumably included Dutch artisans resident in Day's own household, cut the wooden blocks that compositors then built into typesettings or, in several prominent instances, employed in the printing of independent sheets for tipping or pasting into volumes. Day's employment of foreign artisans may account for the high quality of his woodcuts at a time when English book illustration was unsophisticated by comparison with continental standards. When purchasers commissioned bindings, specialized binders may have collaborated in the affixing of illustrations. As we shall see, the circuit of book illustration ends with the readers, who doodled on pictures, incorporated drawings in margins, altered pictures, filled them in in the manner of a coloring book, or inscribed short speeches within blank scrolls that lack drop-in typesettings.

John Day published some of the best-illustrated English books of his era. This experience prepared him for collaboration with John Foxe in illustrating the *Book of Martyrs* with scores of woodcuts. The commissioning of wooden blocks was a costly enterprise over which publishers retained control. As we shall see, Day's reuse of smaller generic illustrations (as opposed to single instances of the larger tailor-made narrative woodcuts) made sense within a coherent pattern of illustration. Unlike most English printers, he retained ownership of wooden blocks that he commissioned. At a time when London printers typically shared blocks among themselves, his distinctive concern for book illustration led to his commissioning and collecting of a large archive of blocks over which he retained proprietary control during decades of reuse.

From the outset of his career during the reign of Edward VI, Day employed woodcuts in order to promote books that contained Protestant propaganda. We see this in publications such as Robert Crowley's *The Confutation of Thirteen Articles, Whereunto Nicholas Shaxton . . . Subscribed* (1548). Day enlivened this point-by-point refutation of the views of a Protestant cleric, who recanted in order to escape being burnt alive for heresy as a colleague of Anne Askew, by inserting as a frontispiece an outsize picture that portrays her burning along with several companions (Figure 24). This tailor-made woodcut is virtually without precedent as a fold-out illustration for an English octavo. Given the brevity of the text, the cost of the wooden block must have driven up the price of this book. The designer of the cut follows the description that John Bale incorporated into the original editions of *The Examinations of Anne Askew*

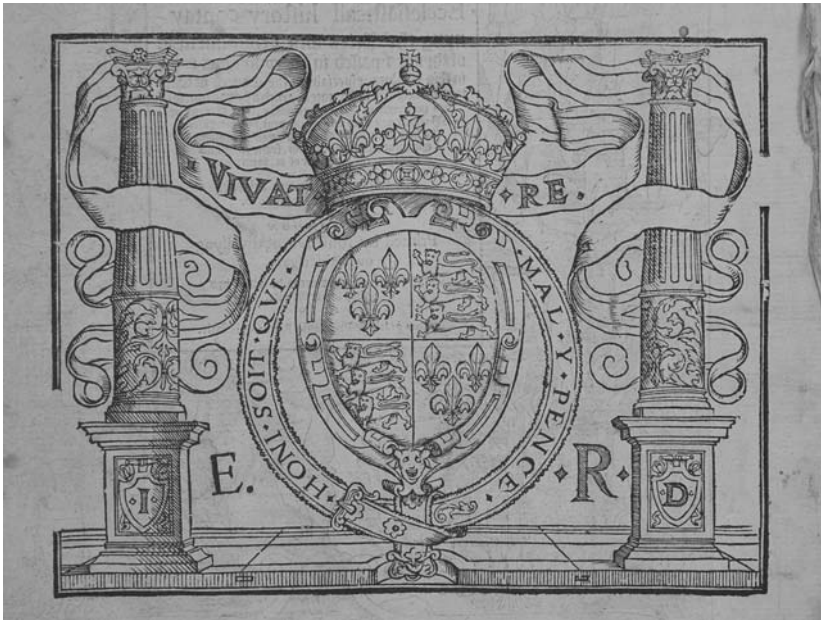


24. Following his recantation, Nicholas Shaxton preaches from a portable pulpit before Anne Askew, John Lascelles, and their companions are set aflame in front of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great at Smithfield on 16 July 1546. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 678. Reused from Crowley's *Confutation*.

(1546–47). As Shaxton preaches from a portable pulpit, the councilors who participated in her interrogation sit on a dais in front of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great. Even the bolt of lighting represents a visual allusion to Bale's commentary.

Day's early woodcuts include an allegorical portrayal of a giant whose devouring of gold personifies the extravagance and greed of Henry VIII and his courtiers. After the printer used it on the title page of Crowley's *Philargyrie of Great Britain* (1551), it disappeared from sight.¹⁹ Also worthy of note is a xylographic device decorated with the coat of arms of Edward VI, which is encircled by strapwork that bears the motto of the Order of

¹⁹ A personal communication from Peter W. M. Blayney corrects the *STC* by assigning printing of this book to Day. See *Voices*, fig. 6.



25. The imperial crown surmounts the coat of arms encircled by strapwork of the Order of the Garter in this printer's device belonging to John Day. Pillars symbolic of imperial majesty bear the initials "J[ohannes] D[aius]." After the death of Edward VI, the traditional homage, "Vivat Rex" ("Long Live the King"), underwent adaptation to "Vivat Re[gina]" in honor of Mary I. In addition to this alteration, insertion of a wooden plug modified the regal initials from "E[dwardus]. R[ex]." to "M[aria]. R[egina]." Following the accession of Elizabeth I, the replacement of "M." with "E." rendered this device suitable for inclusion on the verso side of the title page in some copies of the *Book of Martyrs* (1570), OSU BR1600.F6 1570, copy 4.

the Garter (Figure 25). The xylographic initials at the bases of the pillars, *J. D.*, advertise John Day's role as publisher.²⁰ He printed it in 1549 both for independent sale as a single-sheet folio and for inclusion in his first and second folio Bibles (1549, 1551).²¹ These big books respectively contain Edmund Becke's revisions of the "Matthew" translation and of the Tyndale and Taverner versions.

The 1549 Bible has the appearance of apprentice work of sorts for this printer-publisher, because Steven Mierdman, a Dutch immigrant, printed it on behalf of the partnership of Day and a fellow bookseller, William Seres. Mierdman employed blocks that he brought with him from

²⁰ STC 7507. See Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), no. 115.

²¹ STC 2077, 2088.



26. This historiated initial *E* portrays Edmund Beke, editor of John Day's second folio Bible (1551), in the act of presenting a book symbolic of the Bible to Edward VI. The printer reused it at the beginning of Foxe's account of the reign of King Edward in the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1563), PP6^v.

Antwerp in order to incorporate illustrations of Old Testament scenes, the evangelists, and the conventional series of illustrations for Revelation. Surely Day learned how to print and publish a large and complicated folio by overseeing the production of a book filled with imported woodcuts that he failed to commission. Although his second folio Bible is devoid of the 1549 woodcuts, which presumably remained under Mierdman's control, it does contain metalcut portrayals of the four Evangelists. In addition to a historiated initial capital *E* that portrays Edmund Beke kneeling before Edward VI (Figure 26), to whom he presents his revised Bible translation, Day also commissioned a fine allegorical border for use on the title page of his 1551 Bible.²² In addition to the royal arms in the compartment at the

²² *ERL*, fig. 13.

top, this border contains a trio of resurrection scenes that symbolize Day and the trade that he pursued at the sign of the Resurrection. They functioned as devices to promote book sales. The royal arms are bordered by small images of the raising of Lazarus and Christ's emergence from the tomb. At the bottom, we see Day's motto "Arise For It Is Day" flanked by a depiction of one man waking another at dawn. The punning allusion is to 1 Thessalonians 5:5–6: "You are all children of light, children of day. We do not belong to night or darkness, and we must not sleep like the rest, but keep awake and sober."²³

When Day and his coreligionists fell out of favor under Mary I, he ceased production of illustrated books when he worked either as a job printer in London or at a secret press that he operated in Lincolnshire. The woodcut of the execution of Anne Askew and the donor portrait of Edmund Becke were unusable during her reign because of their controversial content, but other printers did use both the device that bears the royal arms and the title page border from Day's 1551 folio Bible. John Kingston and Henry Sutton adapted the device for the title page of a Latin missal by employing a wooden plug to alter the initials *E. R.* to *M. R.* ("Maria Regina") and by altering *Rex* to *Re[gina]*.²⁴ We do not know how John Wayland obtained the title page border that Day commissioned for his second folio Bible, but he used it in printing Boccaccio's *The Fall of Princes . . . Whereunto is Added the Fall of All Such as Since that Time Were Notable in England* (1554?). Wayland planned to add *The Mirror for Magistrates* as a sequel, but Stephen Gardiner suppressed its publication. Only fragments of this book survive, in all likelihood because the bishop wished to block publication of *de casibus* tragedies that were sympathetic to prominent members of the Edwardian establishment, such as Protector Somerset.²⁵ The editor of the *Mirror*, William Baldwin, may have served as an intermediary between Wayland and Day, with whose printing houses he had an intimate acquaintance. Baldwin's close association with both Edward Whitchurch and John Day suggests that Wayland's establishment may have served as a front that enabled Protestant printers to remain

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Missale ad usum . . . Sarisburiensis* (1557); *STC* 16219. See McKerrow, *Devices*, no. 115.

²⁵ *STC* 1246 and 3177.5 (McKerrow, *Devices*, no. 116). Under Elizabeth I, Day continued to use this woodcut compartment on the title pages of folio editions of religious books such as *STC* 1710, 2434, and 2462. See also R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1932), no. 76.

active in the book trade.²⁶ Despite Wayland's lowly status as a scrivener and minor printer, who had printed no books since 1539, he acquired Whitchurch's printing equipment and occupied his premises at the sign of the Sun on Fleet Street soon after Edward VI's death. The source of his capital investment and circumstances of acquisition are mysterious.

After Day's restoration to favor on the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, he resumed operation at his Aldersgate printing house. His emergence as a preeminent member of the London book trade depended on the patronage of powerful members of the Elizabethan establishment, such as William Cecil and Robert Dudley. Under the auspices of the Earl of Leicester, for example, he received a *per septennium* privilege that conferred exclusive rights to publishing any book "compiled at Daye's expense" for a period of seven years. This blanket privilege conferred a monopoly on a number of lucrative publications. They include William Cuninghame's *The Cosmographical Glass* (1559), one of the best-illustrated books of its age. Day illustrated this compendium concerning astronomical and mathematical lore with well-crafted maps, an armillary sphere, a globe, and portrayals of the compiler in the guise both of a learned cosmographer and of Atlas, the mythical giant who bears the heavenly bodies on his shoulders.²⁷

Day's most elaborately illustrated book, *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), which is commonly known as "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book," functions as a Protestant book of hours that pays homage to England's queen (see Figure 30). The printer published this book under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester. In a notable instance of literary iconoclasm, a frontispiece portrait of the praying figure of "Elizabeth Regina" receives a place of honor comparable to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This picture complements the Tree of Jesse on the title page. Depicting the descent of Mary and Christ from David, Solomon, and other Old Testament kings, the latter figure compromised a traditional component of western European royal iconography. Modeled on *Horae* published in Paris in the 1490s, the intricate metalcut borders of *Christian*

²⁶ On the politics of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, see Scott Campbell Lucas, "The Suppressed Edition and the Creation of the 'Orthodox' *Mirror for Magistrates*," in *Renaissance Papers* 1994, ed. Barbara J. Baines and George Walton Williams (Raleigh, NC: The Southeastern Renaissance Conference, 1995), 31–54. See also Lucas, "The Consolidation of Tragedy: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and the Fall of the 'Good Duke' of Somerset," *Studies in Philology* 100 (2003), pp. 44–70.

²⁷ Davis, "John Day," pp. 84–85.

Prayers and Meditations portray the Dance of Death, scenes in the life of Christ that correspond to typological prefigurations in the Old Testament, and other devotional scenes. Many of its side panels portray psychomachia conflict in which a feminine personification of a virtue tramples on a masculine personification of vice.²⁸

Stephen Bateman's *Crystal Glass of Christian Reformation, Wherein the Godly May Behold the Colored Abuses Used in This Our Present Time* (1569) provides a third instance of John Day's mastery of the art of book illustration.²⁹ The publisher presumably commissioned Bateman to compose the lengthy moralistic treatise that accompanies a set of woodcuts already in existence. His service as a chaplain to Matthew Parker suggests yet another patronage connection. After all, Day printed a number of books on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this instance, he reproduces a sequence of thirty-nine allegorical woodcuts in order to contrast the seven deadly sins with Christian virtues. The illustrated component of this publication functions in the manner of an emblem book because of the combination of epigrammatic couplets and prose "significations" with most of the pictures. The Flemish style of the pictures suggests that the Flemish artist, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, may have drawn the designs for these cuts.³⁰

B. The pattern of illustration

John Day did not work *de novo* in illustrating Foxe's martyrological history, because its illustrations share many compositional and iconographical features with woodcuts in his other books. His earlier career as a publisher of illustrated books sheds light on the pattern of illustration in the *Book of Martyrs*, in part because this book assimilates a number of his Edwardian woodcuts in addition to cuts from a handful of other books. In his lean years during the reign of Mary I, he either retained a number of earlier wooden blocks or knew where they were preserved. Illustrated books that he published at the outset of the reign of Elizabeth provide further analogues to his Foxean illustrations. Not only did he regain ownership of the title page border originally used for his 1551 folio Bible, but he also rendered the device bearing the royal arms suitable for

²⁸ Mayor, *Prints and People*, nos. 248, 252. See *TRI*, figs. 30–33.

²⁹ See Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 90–93, 124–27; and *TRI*, pp. 118–21, 134n. See also *SPART*, figs. 3–4, 10, 13, 20.

³⁰ *L&I*, pp. 57–58.

insertion into some copies of the *Book of Martyrs*. By replacing a wooden plug bearing a capital M., Day adroitly converted royal arms previously associated with M[aria]. R[egina]. into a device that praises E[lizabetha]. R[egina]. The previously altered wording of *Vivat Re[gina]* applies as readily to her as it did to her late sister (see Figure 25).³¹

More important than these woodcuts are the donor portrait of Edmund Becke and the portrayal of the execution of Anne Askew, because their respective assimilation into the *Book of Martyrs* provides points of departure for its systematic pattern of illustration. The reuse of these woodcuts demonstrates that Day took great care to preserve his blocks for later use in appropriate contexts across a variety of different books. Day's commissioning of many woodcuts for his personal use departs, as we have noted, from the standard practice whereby other printers and publishers employed a common pool of woodblocks. Except for "Henry VIII in Council," which appears in the 1570 and 1576 versions,³² and the device bearing the royal arms, which appears in some copies of the second edition, only these two woodcuts predate the accession of Elizabeth I. For the first edition, Day reused the historiated initial *E* originally used in his 1551 folio Bible (Figure 26). He employed its portrayal of Edward VI in order to announce the beginning of Foxe's history of the reign of the boy king whom Protestants revered as a religious reformer. In the course of preparing the second edition for the press, Day replaced this initial capital with the complicated allegorical woodcut that praises Edward as the Young Josiah who purged England of religious corruption on the model of the youthful king of Israel who extirpated the worship of idols after a period of backsliding (Figure 23).³³ Portrayal of Edward VI in the act of receiving or conferring a book symbolic of the Bible constitutes the common element in the two woodcuts. No one other than Day or possibly a senior assistant was in a position to oversee this revision in book illustration.

Day never republished *The Confutation of Thirteen Articles*, but he shrewdly reused its woodcut portrayal of the execution of Anne Askew and several companions in order to embellish the transcription of her heresy examinations that John Foxe incorporates into the *Book of Martyrs* (Figure 24). This fifteen-year-old woodcut is of great importance because its measurements (140 × 190 mm.) supply a rough-and-ready model for the dimensions of his newly commissioned half-page narrative woodcuts.

³¹ See McKerrow, *Devices*, no. 115. ³² See L&I, STC 11223/35.

³³ See TRI, pp. 93–99, passim; Aston, *King's Bedpost*, pp. 26–36.

Because this woodcut is the only execution scene that predated publication of Foxe's book, it appears that Day employed it as a compositional model for the standard portrayal of the burnings of heretics in these double-column pictures. In addition to the portable pulpit from which a preacher delivers a sermon and the cityscape in the background, the open oval space with a crowd of spectators at its edge gives rise to a distinctive motif in Day's martyrological woodcuts.³⁴ (A total of thirty-one large and small woodcuts contain crowds, whereas six contain indoor or outdoor pulpits.) Executioners are constructing the pyre in this instance, but faggots are already in flames in many other pictures. This naturalistic scene incorporates horses, which often function as symbols for religious persecution.³⁵

Day's designers and cutters employed this distinctively English style of woodcut composition in illustrating the execution of Anne Askew and other martyrs, rather than the more static imagery of Protestant martyrologies published in Latin at printing houses on the continent. These books include Foxe's *Rerum*, published by Oporinus and Brylinger in 1559, and *Joannis Hus, et Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum Christi historia et monumenta* (Nuremberg, 1558), an account of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague that Foxe frequently cites as a source.³⁶ An illustration of the execution of Anne Askew, commissioned for a martyrological history compiled by Ludwig Rabus, is a striking contrast to Day's illustration of the same scene.³⁷ Published in Strasbourg in 1555–57, not long after Foxe's residence in the city, this German collection assimilates material from Bale's edition of Anne Askew's *Examinations* and Foxe's *Commentarii* into its accounts of English martyrs. The German publisher commissioned a woodcut that portrays Askew as a solitary figure unaccompanied by the companions who shared her fate at Smithfield. In contrast to the distinctive openness of Day's woodcut, this cramped and unrealistic scene features a monk and officials who harangue her as an executioner ignites a meager pile of wood (Figure 27).

Day had the habit of returning to familiar designs in a variety of different books. Bateman's *Crystal Glass of Christian Reformation* is a good

³⁴ Ruth Luborsky, "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan," in *JFHP*, pp. 81–82.

³⁵ Including four horses that pull a man into quarters in the "Table of X. Persecutions" (see below), twenty-seven narrative woodcuts in 1570 contain horses symbolic of tyranny, or mules, which symbolize luxury.

³⁶ Aston and Ingram, "Iconography," figs. 4.7, 4.10, 4.14–15.

³⁷ *Historien der heyligen ausserwölten gottes zeügen, bekennern und martyrern, so in anghender ersten kirchen, altes und neuwes testaments, 2^u jeder zeyt gewesen seind*, 6 vols.



27. Crafted in Germany, this portrayal of the execution of Anne Askew is radically different from John Day's realistic woodcut of this event (compare Figure 24). Ludwig Rabus, *Historien der heyligen ausserwölten Gottes zeügen* (1555–57), vol. 3, fol. 185^v.

example of a book that is tied to Foxe's martyrological history by both iconography and antipapal content. The translation into an inapt context in Bateman's book of the initial capital *E* that Day had last used in the 1563 version of the *Book of Martyrs* (see Figure 26) suggests that he had already commissioned the expanded multi-compartment woodcut (Figure 23) for the second edition. Divorced from its original significance as a donor portrait in his 1551 folio Bible, this woodcut now brings Bateman's discussion concerning Envy to an emphatic conclusion. In an accompanying woodcut, an angry friar who personifies this vice drags a Bible-reading minister out of a pulpit in order to burn him alive in the pyre visible through the doorway. This picture reconfigures a woodcut in the *Book of Martyrs*, in which priests pull Thomas Bilney out of an outdoor pulpit as he evangelizes congregants who encircle him at a churchyard in Ipswich. This associate of Hugh Latimer preached iconoclastic sermons in East Anglia.³⁸

³⁸ Aston, *King's Bedpost*, pp. 164–66, figs. 111–12; SPART, fig. 3.

Elements of Day's house style are apparent in the composition of the Bilney woodcut and another one that illustrates Foxe's account of the life and death of England's most renowned pre-Elizabethan preacher, Hugh Latimer. This evangelist delivers a sermon in the privy gardens at Whitehall Palace, in which a crowd encircles an out-of-door pulpit set against a background of buildings (Figure 28). Praise of Edward VI comes to the fore in the portrayal of the young king listening at a casement window in the company of his uncle, Protector Somerset, and other courtiers. It is important to note that neither king nor preacher are located at the focal point of this scene, in which we see a solitary woman who devoutly follows the scriptural text for his sermon. In a reversal of the iconography of the Bilney woodcut, in which the absence of Bibles in the hands of congregants suggests that they are lacking in spiritual nourishment, the woman who reads at the feet of the preacher personifies an Erasmian appeal for universal literacy in order that all men, women, and children might study the Bible on their own. The motif of the reading woman is conventional in German Lutheran visual satires.³⁹

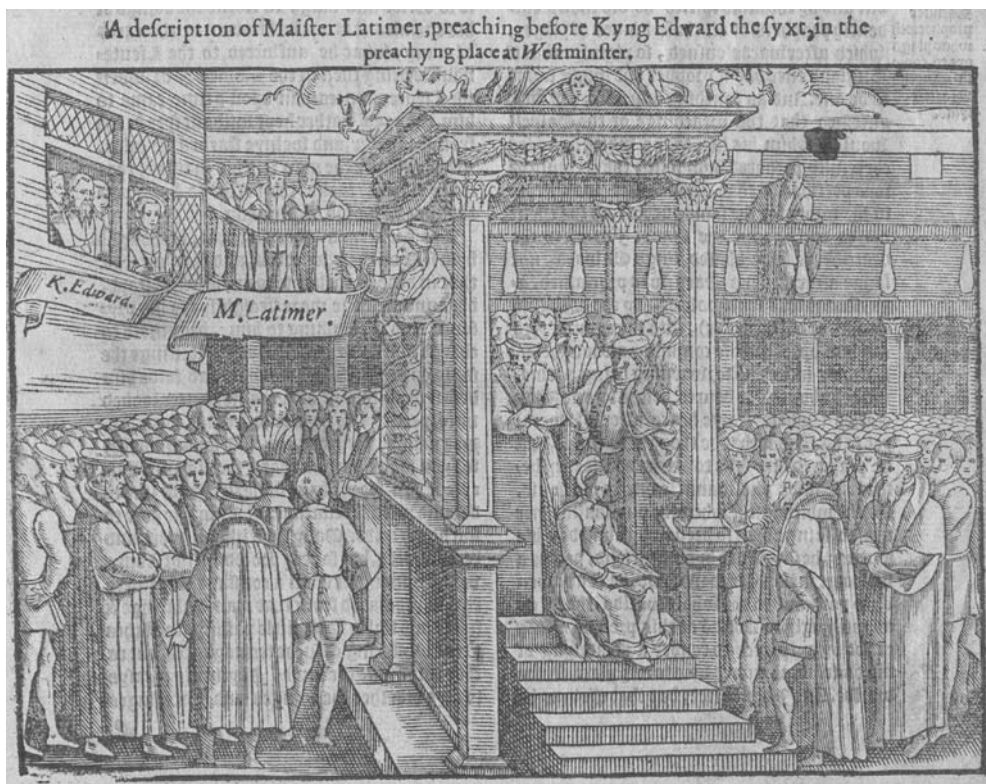
This portrayal of Latimer in the act of preaching exemplifies Day's opportunistic use of cuts designed for the *Book of Martyrs* in related books with earlier dates of publication. It initially illustrated Augustine Bernher's edition of *Twenty-seven Sermons Preached by . . . Master Hugh Latimer*, which Day published in two parts in 1562.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it seems certain that the printer commissioned this woodcut as an illustration for the forthcoming first edition of Foxe's martyrology, because it was not customary to illustrate sermon collections and theological texts. Indeed, both books may have been in press at the same time. The "Allegory of Christian Justice" that Day used for the first time as an appendage to his own collection, *The Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*, furnishes another example of the anticipatory use of a woodcut. It is a virtual certainty that Day commissioned this elaborate woodcut for the 1576 version of the *Book of Martyrs*, in which it functions as a visual coda to "The Proud Primacie of Popes" at the conclusion of the first volume (Figure 29).⁴¹

Among iconoclastic scenes that recur throughout books published by Day, the title page border of the *Book of Martyrs* is the most prominent (Figure 2). It depicts forerunners of images of "true" (i.e., Protestant) and

³⁹ Scribner, "For the Sake of Simple Folk," pp. 197–200. Concerning the iconography of preaching, see Joseph L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 252–81.

⁴⁰ L&I, STC 15276/1.

⁴¹ See Luborsky, "Illustrations," pp. 82–83. See pp. 221–23, below.



28. Hugh Latimer preaches to Edward VI and members of his court, who look down on a crowded congregation in the privy garden at Whitehall Palace. The woman who reads on the steps is symbolic of the ideal of universal literacy for the sake of understanding the Bible. This iconographical motif undergoes repetition in Figures 2 (lower left) and 23 (lower right). *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1353.

“false” (i.e., Roman Catholic) religious practices that are ubiquitous throughout the *Book of Martyrs*. The binary division of this border along a vertical axis recalls the antithetical composition of visual satires fashioned by Hans Holbein the Younger and Lucas Cranach the Younger in defense of the Lutheran Reformation.⁴² At the left-hand side, depictions of martyrs in flames anticipate scenes that recur throughout the book. These believers trumpet praise as they are assumed into heaven in the manner of the angels who flank Christ the Judge. The Latin epigraph added at the end of the title in 1583, “*Salus sedenti super thronum & agno*” (“Victory to our God who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb [i.e., Christ]”), explains the border by reference to a scriptural text (Rev. 7:10) that informs an apocalyptic design

⁴² See Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*,” figs. 32–33, 165–66; TRI, pp. 127–29; Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” p. 74.



29. In this portrayal of Christian Justice, the Bible counterbalances the heap of decretals and ceremonial objects that symbolize papal “vanity.” Even the attendant demon is unable to tip the balance against the heavy “weight” of the scriptures. On the model of German Lutheran visual propaganda, the barefoot figures of Jesus and the apostles stand opposed to the ostentatiously clad members of the clerical hierarchy of the Church of Rome. Although Day initially used this picture as an illustration for the *Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes* (1573), for which Foxe wrote a detailed explanation of this visual allegory, it seems certain that the publisher commissioned it for the third edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1576), p. 771.

that permeates the repertoire of woodcuts. In positioning Christ atop a rainbow, this woodcut border observes the dynamics of Last Judgment scenes of the kind that we encounter in medieval dooms and illustrated devotional manuals.⁴³ The panel at the right-hand side satirizes the Roman Catholic worship as a “demonic” cult. We witness the fall from heaven of the rebel angels, whose trumpeting informs the celebration of the Mass by a

⁴³ Martha W. Driver, “Nuns as Patrons, Artists, Readers: Bridgettine Woodcuts in Printed Books Produced for the English Market,” in *Art Into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum*

priest who elevates the host at a high altar surrounded by kneeling priests. This scene provides a pronounced contrast to the Protestant reduction of the seven sacraments of medieval Christendom to baptism and holy communion (as depicted in Figure 23, lower right).

The insets at the bottom afford an iconographical elaboration of the conflict between “true” and “false” churches. At the lower left we witness a mode of seeing very different from the longstanding tradition of gazing on religious images. This envisagement of the Reformation as a new Pentecost features adoration of the Tetragrammaton. These four Hebrew consonants for YHWH, the name of the deity that Jews consider too sacred to pronounce, function in Protestant tradition as a non-anthropomorphic representation of the divine that is immune to the iconoclastic attack on religious images. Functioning as a visual representation of a religion of the book, according to which the inward inspiration of the Holy Spirit has a transformative impact on faithful believers, the blinding light of the Tetragrammaton corresponds to the sunburst that radiates from Christ the Judge. Portrayal of two readers amidst a throng of hearers suggests that “true” worship captures both the reading eye and the hearing ear. After all, the viewer sees congregants who receive the Word based on both Bible reading and aural reception of a pulpit exposition of a biblical text. This scene mirrors Day’s standard placement of a pulpit at the center of a circle of spectators and auditors, some of whom accompany the sermon by reading the Bible in the manner of the woman who sits on the stairs of the pulpit from which Hugh Latimer preaches (see Figure 28). Reading from books is distinctively absent in the portrayal of “false” religion in the inset at the lower right, which portrays practices such as the telling of rosary beads, a ceremonial procession, and devotion at a roadside shrine in the background. The tactile and visual associations of Roman Catholic worship exclude acts of reading even on the part of the preacher, who recites from memory. Yet again, antecedents for this juxtaposition of “true” versus “false” worship exist in Lutheran visual satire published in Germany.⁴⁴

These diametrically opposed portrayals of two kinds of worship prepare the way for scores of pictures of “true” versus “false” religion throughout the collection. In portrayals of Protestant and Catholic ecclesiastical

Medieval Symposia, ed. Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleen L. Scott (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1995), pp. 240–42, fig. 1. On the affinity of this scene with portrayal of the Last Judgment in Bateman’s *Crystal Glass of Christian Reformation*, see Aston, *King’s Bedpost*, p. 166, fig. 114.

⁴⁴ See Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*,” figs. 163–67. See also Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, pp. 252–81.

officials, for example, the former often carry Bibles in their hands whereas the latter are often identified by grimaces or malign facial expressions (e.g., Figure 37).⁴⁵ Other woodcuts drive home the point that individual reading or hearing of communal readings constitute fundamental components of evangelical belief. Depictions of readers who pore over the Bible as they listen to sermons complement the iconoclastic destruction of objects of ritual devotion (Figures 23 and 28). The importance of books within the evangelical belief system is apparent in portrayals of imprisoned readers who engage in Bible study or sit with Bible in hand (Figures 20 and 47). One woodcut portrays seven prisoners who engage in communal study or devotion as one points out a specific textual passage (Figure 35).

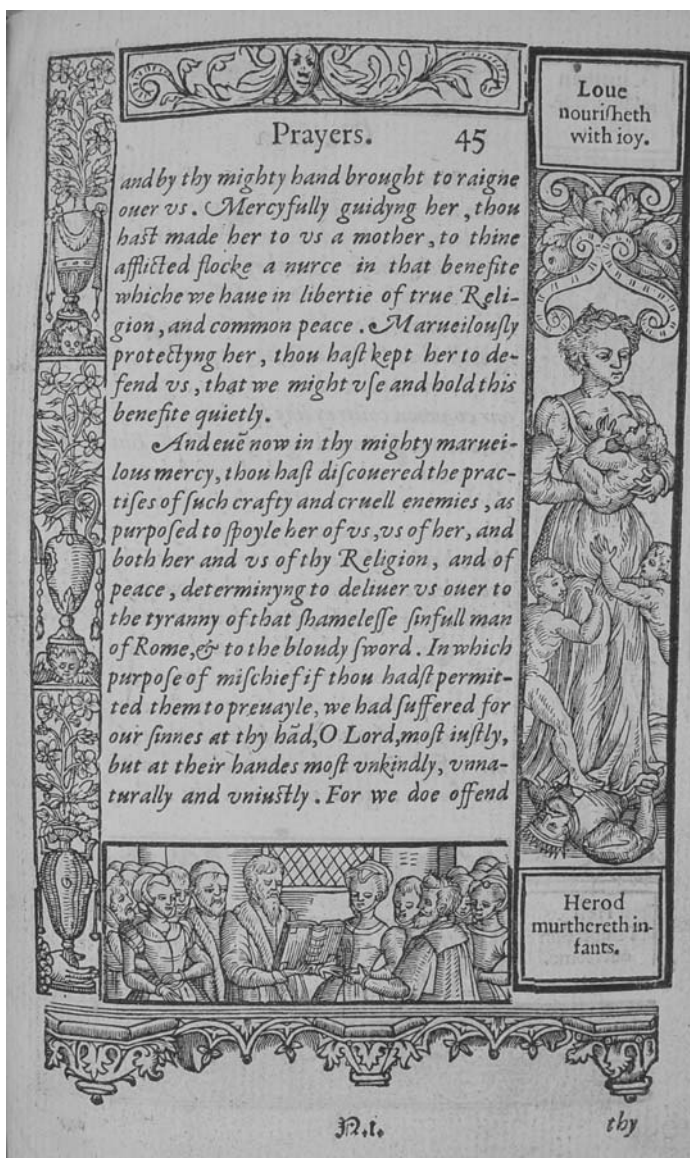
Scenes of this kind resonate with portrayals of worship among the metalcut borders of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and a *Book of Christian Prayers*. One vertical panel personifies “Love of God” as a female iconoclast who tramples on a bishop’s crosier, rosary beads, a religious image, and other cult objects. The small chalice that priests employed in administering the sacrament in one kind affords a marked contrast to the large cup and loaves of bread depicted in the bottom panel. A minister employs the latter in celebration of the Lord’s Supper as a communal meal at a table set up in a church.⁴⁶ Another panel portrays the sacrament of baptism, whereby a minister with the prayer book in hand sprinkles water on the head of an infant. The posture of the men, women, and child in a portrayal of public reading of the Bible within a church suggests that the bearded man reads to more than one-dozen auditors (Figure 30). It seems that another man and woman participate in this conventional scene of communal Bible reading.

For the 1563 edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, John Day supplemented his existing stock of wooden blocks by commissioning a repertoire of forty-five additional large *narrative* cuts that correspond precisely to particular blocks of text. (Some of the smaller woodcuts contain elements of narrative.⁴⁷) These woodcuts typically follow execution scenes, which constitute climactic conclusions of martyrologies, and precede appended letters of the martyrs. The 1570 version introduces sixteen large woodcuts that are new

⁴⁵ See also Diehl, *Staging Reform*, fig. 12.

⁴⁶ SPART, fig. 12.

⁴⁷ Narrative woodcuts are those used uniquely in a particular edition or to illustrate the same segment of text across multiple editions. Although the smaller cuts tend towards repetition, many of these illustrations function as narrative images, including two used in 1563 (L&L, 11222/12 and 27). The width of these smaller cuts fills one of two columns of black-letter type, and their size should be distinguished from single-column (i.e., pagewide) solid textblock usually employed by continental humanist printers.



30. This page from a prayer for the welfare of Elizabeth I portrays a man reading aloud from the Bible. The allegorical sidebar portrays the triumph of Love (or Charity), one of the three theological virtues, whose suckling of an infant is antithetical to Herod's ordering the Massacre of the Innocents. The borders of *A Book of Christian Prayers* (1581), possibly edited by Richard Day, are printed with four separate metalcut bars (p. 45). In publication of this book, John Day employed engravings that he commissioned for *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569).

to the *Book of Martyrs*. None is printed more than once. The 1563 narrative cuts usually illustrate climactic events in the lives of martyrs whom Foxe selects for special emphasis (e.g., Tyndale, Askew, Rogers, Cranmer, and Latimer and Ridley). The new ones added in 1570 are mostly of a religio-political nature. Many of these woodcuts portray highly emotional tableaux, filled with movement and elaborate gestures, in which a martyr is engulfed, or about to be engulfed, in flames. One of the best-remembered scenes portrays the death of Sir John Oldcastle by means of roasting over a fire. Another pathetic picture depicts the torso and head of John Hooper, the rest of whose body has been consumed by flames.⁴⁸ The printer also commissioned four “non-narrative” woodcuts of individual martyrs in flames.⁴⁹ In 1563, the four non-narrative woodcuts are used a total of seven times.

It is virtually certain that Foxe collaborated with Day in providing instructions to the artists who drew designs for the narrative pictures crafted for particular stories such as the martyrologies of William Tyndale (Figure 37) and John Rogers. Their correspondence to specific textual passages rendered them unsuitable for repeated use. Day alone may have instructed the artists who crafted the small woodcuts, which undergo repeated use. Of eighty-five narrative illustrations used in both the 1563 and 1570 editions, twenty-two are of the smaller variety. In addition to serving as powerful religious propaganda, the many woodcuts function as utilitarian place indicators. Even though the pages of the first edition contain relatively little paratext, the woodcuts provide an easy means of locating Foxe’s biography of William Tyndale, for example, by enabling a reader to observe the book’s obituary format in order to locate 1536, the year in which he died, and then to search for the woodcut that illustrates the execution of the Bible translator. Indeed, a number of the finest large woodcuts function as “illustrative markers or secondary title pages” for major subsections of the text.⁵⁰ Examples include the tripartite portrayal of the process of the Edwardian Reformation (Figure 23).

The placement of woodcuts at the beginning of Foxe’s ecclesiastical history offers insight into technical aspects of Day’s illustration of the 1563 *Book of Martyrs*. Because pressmen customarily printed preliminary pages as the

⁴⁸ See Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” figs. 4.9, 4.11. The present discussion relies throughout on Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram’s magisterial census of the illustrations in the first four editions of *A&M* (L&I, pp. 365–83). On p. 367, L&I assigns most of the larger cuts to Series 2 (129×176mm.) and Series 3 (126×173mm.).

⁴⁹ Measuring about 139×96mm., they belong to Series 1 (L&I, p. 367). For a detailed account of the pattern of illustration in the early editions, see Luborsky, “Illustrations,” pp. 67–84.

⁵⁰ Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” p. 80.

last step in the process of early modern book production, we may presume that the title page and first picture in the collection, the large historiated initial capital *C* that begins Foxe's dedication to Elizabeth I (Figure 31), were printed last. They constitute an integral part of Foxe's collection because they appear in every edition until the cutting of a new set of woodcuts in 1641.⁵¹ At the level of iconology, the dedicatory portrait may be a recondite allegorical variation of Day's peripatetic initial *E* (Figure 26). The propagandistic portrayal of the queen rising in victory over the figure of a pope, on whose back she appears to tread (Figure 31), functions a germ for the governing motif of the victory of Crown over Tiara, which, as we shall see, comes to the fore in the second edition. Recognizable figures of John Day and John Foxe stand closest to the queen. The design casts her in the role of a latter-day Emperor Constantine I, who called on Eusebius, whom Foxe treats as his prototype, to compile his *Ecclesiastica historia*, which recounts the sufferings of early Christian martyrs. The third man appears to represent their patron at the royal court, William Cecil.⁵²

Depiction of the defeat of the pope in the initial *C* reverses the iconography of the next two woodcuts, which contain cartoonlike portrayals of key incidents during the medieval struggle between imperial and papal authority. Although pressmen might have printed them at the outset of the production process, we cannot determine the precise point at which they went through the press. The unusual size and unconventional placement of these woodcuts suggest that Day conceived of them at an early point during the process of publication, when the formula for illustration was still unsettled. Each scene portrays a pope in the act of humiliating a secular ruler. The vertical axis on which the papal tiara rises above the imperial crown reverses the primacy of monarch over pope seen in the initial *C*. The first picture depicts Henry IV, King of Germany and future Holy Roman Emperor, whom Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) excommunicated in 1076 at the climax of their long struggle for authority over western Christendom (Figure 32). It portrays a famous occasion when the pope kept the ruler waiting at Canossa when he approached the pontiff in an act of penance. In referring to Henry as emperor, Foxe disregards the

⁵¹ Day reuses the initial capital *C* in only one book other than *A&M*: John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials* (1577). Claiming that this reuse was deliberate, Frances A. Yates declares that it accords with Dee's transmutation of Foxe's "religious imperial theme," into "a nationalist imperial theme," in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 49–50, fig. 7a. See also *TRI*, pp. 238–41; Luborsky, "Illustrations," p. 69.

⁵² *ERL*, p. 435; Evenden and Freeman, "John Foxe," p. 27. See Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 56–57; *TRI*, pp. 154–56.

TO THE QVENEES MOSTE EXCEL-

Lent Maicstie Quene Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, France & Ireland, defendour of the faith, and supream gouernour of the saide Realme of En^gland, and Irelande, next vnder the Lorde, as well in causes ecclesiasticall, as also to the temporall state appertaining, her humble subject IOHN FOX hartely wissheth and desireth with increase of Gods holy spirit and grace, long to florish and reigne in perfect health, and much honour, through the mercie and fauour of Christ Iesus, our Lorde and aternall Saviour, to the comfourt of his church, and glorie of his holy name.



Onstantine the greate and mightie Emperour, the sonne of Helene an Englyshe woman of this youre Realme and countrie (moste Christian and renowned Prynceesse Queene Elizabeth) after he had pacified and established the church of Christ, being long before vnder persecution, fro the tyme of our sauiour Christ almost 400 yeres: and comming in his progresse at length to a citie called Cæsaria, (where Eusebius wyter of the Ecclesiasticall story was then placed Byshop) required of the sayde Eusebius vpon his owne free motion, to

demand and aske of him what so euer he thought expediēt or necessary for the state and commoditie of his Church, promising to graunt vnto him the same, whatsoeuer he should aske. Whiche Eusebius, if he had the required what terrene benefite soeuer he would, either of possessions to be geuen, or of impositiōs to be releafed, or any other lyke &c. he had no doubt obtained his request of that so lyberall, and so noble harted Emperour. But the good and godly Byshop, more nedy then greedy, more spiritually then worldly minded, who had learned rather to take a litle, then to aske much, setting all other respectes aside, made this petition, onely to obtaine at his maiesties hande, vnder his seale and letters autenticques, free leaue and license through al the monarchie of Rome, going to all Cōsulls, Procōsulls, Tribunes and other officers in all cities and countries, to searche out the names, sufferinges and actes, of all such as suffered in al that time of persecution before, for the testimonie and faith of Christ Iesus. The number of all whiche holy and blessed Martyrs, vpon the sayd licence being searched out, amounted to the account, for euery daye in the Calendary to be ascribed (as Hierome wyting to Chromatius and Heliodorus doth wytnesse) syue thousande Martyrs, sauing only the first daye of Ianuary excepted. For that day being assigned to the chousing of their Consules, was therfore festinally solemnized throughout all the Romaine Empire.

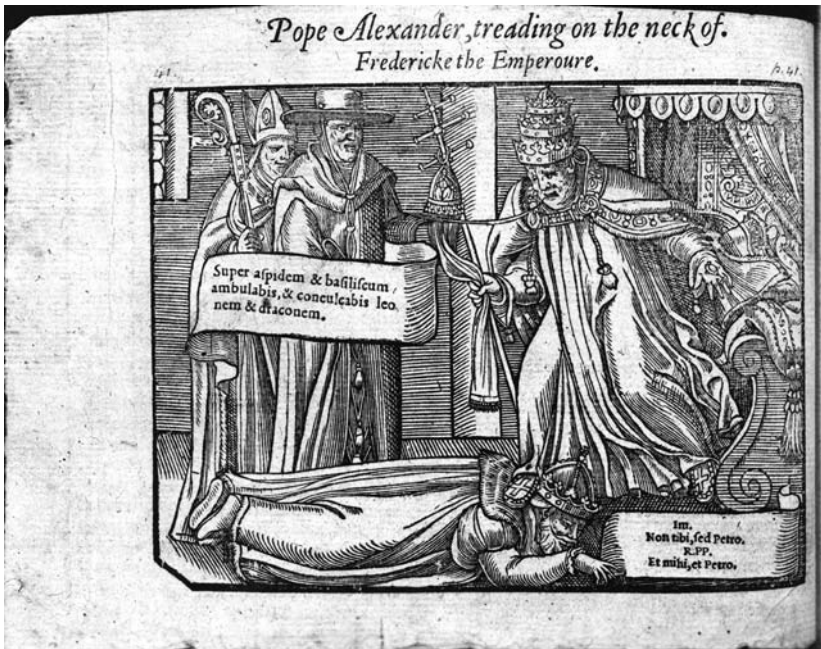
31. The historiated initial capital C at the beginning of the dedication of the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs* portrays Elizabeth I as a second Constantine, who triumphs over a fallen pontiff who is entwined with demonic serpents (B1^r). The broken keys symbolize his lack of spiritual authority (compare Figure 42). The cornucopia above the queen's head suggests that her reign is a time of peace and prosperity that ensues following the cessation of the Marian persecutions. From right to left, the three figures at her side represent John Day, John Foxe, and their mutual patron, Sir William Cecil.



32. The bare feet of King Henry IV symbolize his abasement following excommunication by Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand), who looks through a casement window at the castle in Canossa, Italy. *Book of Martyrs* (1570), p. 232.

chronological inconvenience that this incident took place eight years before he was elected leader of the Holy Roman Empire, no doubt because he found it more suitable to vilify the pope for humiliating an emperor, rather than a king. The bare feet of the crowned emperor and empress exemplify the impotence of secular authority beneath the power of a worldly pontiff, who wears a tiara as he consorts with a concubine. Clerics in the papal court sneer through a window of the castle. The second woodcut depicts the humiliation of Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa) by Pope Alexander III, who treads on the neck of the ruler whom he excommunicated in 1160 for challenging papal supremacy in secular affairs (Figure 33). The designer drew the inspiration for this picture from the title page woodcut of an antipapal polemic published in Lutheran Germany.⁵³ Like the previous woodcut, this one is printed on a separate piece of smaller paper.

⁵³ Robert Barnes, *Bapsttrew Hadriani iiii. und Alexanders iii. gegen keyser Friderichen Barbarossa geübt* (Wittenberg, 1545). See TRI, fig. 36. Foxe includes an account of Barnes's martyrdom in the *Book of Martyrs*.



33. Pope Alexander III treads up on the neck of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in this woodcut slip from the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 41.

Both of these woodcuts depart from the conventional sizes of Day's narrative woodcuts, but the dimensions of the first picture approximate those of the printer's Series 3 woodcuts.⁵⁴ In the 1563 version, this picture is printed on a pasted-in slip with the following caption: "Henricus the emperor, with his wife and child, barefoot and barelegd waiting on pope Hildebrand, three daies and three nights, at the gates of Canusium [i.e., Canossa], before he could be suffered to come in." (This wording recalls the commonplace charge in Lutheran visual propaganda that popes ride steeds or are carried in state, whereas Christ walked barefoot on the ground.⁵⁵) In order to accommodate this paper slip, the compositor omitted typesetting for an appropriate number of lines in the second column of page 25. In the copy at Magdalen College, the left-hand side of this picture is pasted right-side-up in such a way that its vertical axis fits the empty space in column two. When the right-hand side is unfolded, it does not obscure wording in the first column. That the woodcut is positioned thus in a presentation copy

⁵⁴ It measures 123×171 mm.

⁵⁵ *TRI*, p. 128.

donated by Foxe to the college that granted him a fellowship suggests that it constitutes the definitive position for this illustration. Of course, it could have been pasted in at a later date. Alternative positioning in other extant copies may result from a deliberate decision made by a purchaser or binder, or from vagaries associated with reattachment of pictures.⁵⁶

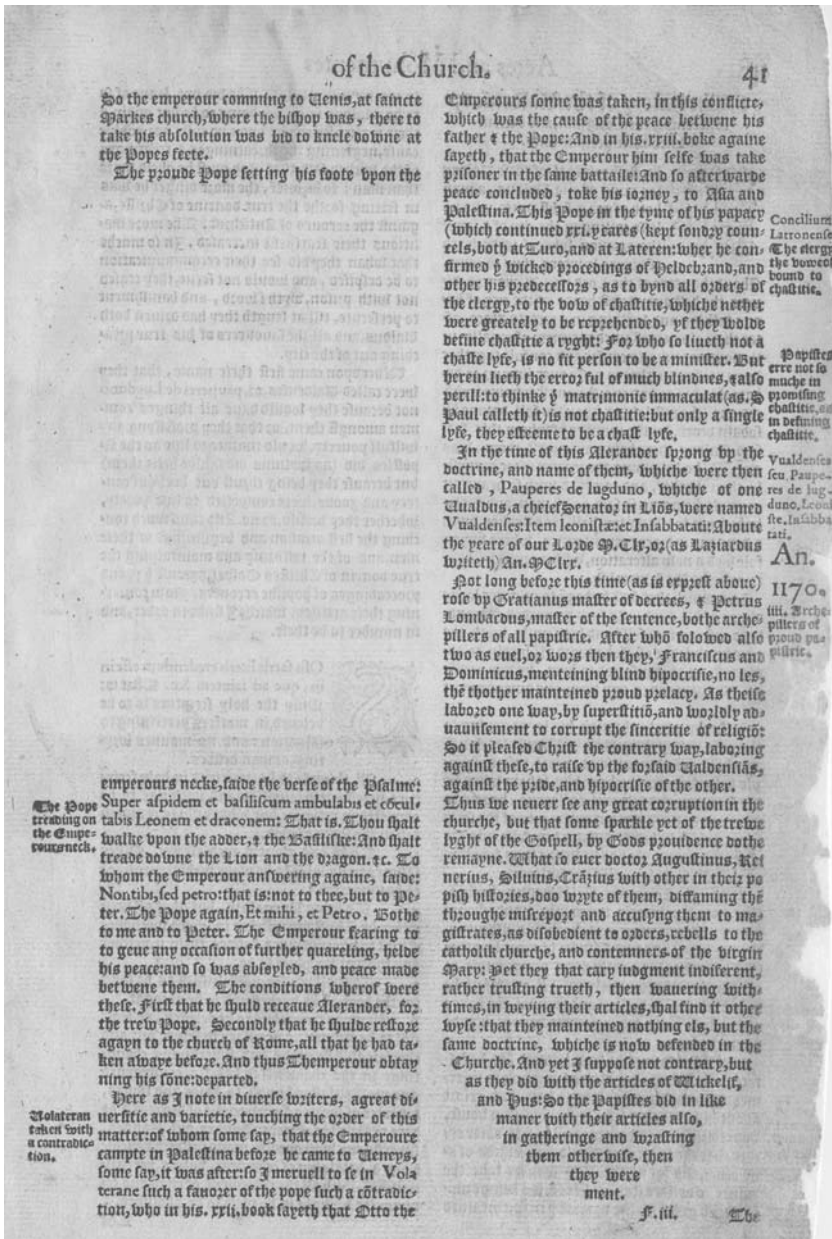
The second picture may have been the first one that Day commissioned specifically for the *Book of Martyrs*. The unusually small size of this narrative woodcut is unique. It is unusual, furthermore, in the use of Latin in its captions. These anomalies suggest that the planner designed it while the program of illustration and the standard sizes for the three woodcut series were still in flux. Its anomalous size would seem to account for its omission from "The Proud Primacie of Popes," which constitutes an expansion of the first woodcut into an appendix containing one-dozen pictures at the end of the first volume, beginning with the second edition (1570). In the 1563 version, the portrayal of the humiliation of Emperor Frederick is printed on a slip designed for right-side-up placement in a blank space in the first column on page 41 (Figure 34). Pasting it in this position, it corresponds precisely to the point in the narrative where the reader encounters a textual reference to "The proude Pope setting his foote upon the emperours necke." This slip obscures no text when it is folded in half.⁵⁷

In providing space for the pasting of the Henry IV and Frederick Barbarossa woodcuts directly onto pages, Day departed from the standard procedure whereby compositors built wooden blocks into letterpress type-settings. Both methods differ from the tipping in of a few oversize fold-out illustrations by binders. In leaving space empty to accommodate the pasting in of the two woodcuts, pressmen revert to the scribal practice of leaving space open in the pages of manuscripts for filling in by professional illuminators. Incunabula and some early sixteenth-century printed books also exemplify this common continental practice.⁵⁸ We also encounter occasional instances of the pasting in of extra illustrations by

⁵⁶ Magdalen College, Oxford, Old Library, Arch. B.I.4.13. The vertical axis of this rectangular slip is rotated 90° to the left in a copy at FL, a misfit that conceals text in columns one and two (see Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, fig. 9). In copies at BL (C.37.h.2. and G.12101) and HL, the right-hand side of this slip is pasted into the empty space. The left-hand side is folded over in order to uncover printed text. This placement is more pleasing to the eye than that in the FL copy, but the unfolding of this picture results in an awkward masking of text in the first column.

⁵⁷ This is the case in the BL copies in which this paper slip measures 101 × 134 mm. This woodcut is missing from Foxe's presentation copy at Magdalen College.

⁵⁸ Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pl. 49; Martha W. Driver, "Printing the *Confessio Amantis*: Caxton's Edition in Context," in *Re-Visioning Gower*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998), pp. 271–75.



34. The compositor left space empty for pasting down the woodcut of Pope Alexander III treading on the neck of Frederick Barbarossa (Figure 33). *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 41.

readers of early devotional texts.⁵⁹ Despite precedents of this kind, this mode of insertion occurs only in these two instances in the 1563 *Book of Martyrs*, and it is absent in succeeding editions.

Why did the workers depart from their standard practice for the setting of every other woodcut in all of the hand-press editions of the *Book of Martyrs*, with the exception of the tipping in of a few oversize pictures that exceed the width of the leaves? The provision of insufficient space for the first two in-text woodcuts suggests that miscommunication existed between the compositors in the printing house and the designer and/or artisan who made the wooden blocks. If compositors had followed the standard procedure of building the woodcuts into the typeset pages, they would have passed through the press in one easy and inexpensive step. Because the limited quantity of type enabled compositors to leave it standing for only a brief period of time, it is apparent that blocks of the wrong size appeared when the typesettings were already at a point of no return. The simplest explanation would be that compositors set type as they were waiting for the wooden blocks to arrive in the printing house. According to a more difficult scenario, blocks of twice the anticipated size were delivered when the pages were typeset but not yet printed. The proximity of these pages in the E and F gatherings makes the second explanation barely possible because they could have been standing in type at the same time. Because the first explanation offers the advantage of not requiring such an assumption, it seems likely that pressmen imposed the formes for these gatherings in advance of the production or arrival of the blocks in the printing house.⁶⁰

This confusion suggests that compositors set type for the early E and F gatherings before Day, possibly with the assistance of a senior associate, had devised a comprehensive plan for illustration. Presumably he reached a final decision after the printing was under way, but it appears that he was still working it out when printing commenced. All in all, it seems that the larger half-page illustrations, which contribute to the memorability of Foxe's book, "entered into the planning of the book at a late stage."⁶¹ The dimensions of the woodcuts of Henry IV and Frederick Barbarossa are anomalous in that they are narrower than the larger cuts, but not as small as the smaller cuts. Their irregularity suggests that someone, in all likelihood Day, reached a decision not to employ them as a model, but instead to

⁵⁹ Mary C. Erler, "Pasted-In Embellishments in English Manuscripts and Printed Books c. 1480–1533," *Library* 6th series 14 (1992), pp. 185–206.

⁶⁰ I am indebted to a personal communication from Lotte Hellinga (27 November 2003).

⁶¹ Roberts, "Bibliographical Aspects," p. 46.

produce two series of larger woodcuts and a single series of one-column pictures. Woodcuts in each series are of more or less uniform size. Surely compositors would have found it easy to deal with blocks of a uniform size. It is worthy of note that the first properly integrated woodcut, “The Burning of Wickleffes bones” (p. 105), appears in a gathering significantly later than those with the first two narrative woodcuts. We know that confusion existed even here because of the survival of two pages with incorrect impositions. They show that the initial printing of this picture of the burning of exhumed bones did not line up with its proper position in the text. This error suggests that “compositors were confused by having to incorporate, for the first time, a large woodcut into the body of the text.”⁶²

Those engaged in planning the placement of illustrations in the 1563 edition, presumably Foxe and Day, employed four single-column non-narrative woodcuts to portray the suffering of generic martyrs, whose nude figures are engulfed within flames. The undraped bodies of these victims and unclothed counterparts in some of the larger woodcuts emphasize both the humanity and physical suffering of the martyrs. Portrayed in a flamboyantly emotional style, the unfixed identities of these figures undergo a degree of individuation through the use of changeable captions and type settings inserted into apertures and framed by curved and flowing scrolls. The illustrators used these devices in order to emphasize the testimonials of martyrs who remain faithful to the point of death. In three instances when these woodcuts undergo repetition, the wording in the banderoles changes.⁶³ Like the banderoles contained in many of the larger images, these apertures contain supplications attributed to martyrs at the point of death, such as “Lord help me, & forgeve them” and “Lord take me to thy mercy.” The compositor employed a generic woodcut of a martyr whose hand drips blood in order to portray two different figures who respectively exclaim “Jesu have mercy” and “Lord help me.” The following speeches are attributed to two different martyrs whose executions are illustrated with the same picture of a man who writhes in flames: “O Lord receive my spirite” and “O Lord receive my soule.” In a departure from the formulaic use of dying words, the fourth woodcut incorporates a scroll that identifies burning figures as “Simon Myller. Elizabeth Cooper.”⁶⁴

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46. *STC* 11222a incorrectly identifies these sheets as proof-sheets.

⁶³ *L&I*, *STC* 11222/5, 7, 11. Other single-column 1563 woodcuts (E.g., *L&I*, *STC* 11222/12 and 27) are not repeated. For a reproduction of 11222/11, see Luborsky, “Illustrations.”

⁶⁴ *L&I*, *STC* 11222/11, 5, 7, and 49. The last illustration qualifies as non-narrative because it appears in 1583 to illustrate the burning of Alice Driver and Alexander Gouch. See Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, fig. 10.

Why did Day carry over only two of these non-narrative pictures from the first to the second edition? Only a single example survives into later editions.⁶⁵ In failing to reuse the other two woodcuts, the publisher violated his standard practice of striving to obtain the best return on his capital investment in wooden blocks. He abandoned them despite his acknowledgment of the importance of one-column illustrations by commissioning sixteen new non-narrative martyr illustrations for the 1570 edition.⁶⁶ The compositors employed most of these new pictures repeatedly, for a total of sixty-seven instances. Day also commissioned twenty new one-column illustrations designed to be used a single time. The disparity in the frequency of uses of these new small illustrations, whereby one woodcut appears generically fifteen times and each of the twenty is used uniquely as a narrative cut, creates a misleading impression of homogeneity among the small woodcuts. In actual fact, these images fall into three groups, the most prevalent of which consists of unexpressive anonymous figures, reused repeatedly, who “stand in a mass for many.” The second and third clusters respectively consist of “expressive images [that] communicate suffering,” non-narrative illustrations repeated less frequently, and representations of particular categories of martyrs, which are used uniquely.⁶⁷ As an ensemble, these newly crafted woodcuts differentiate among martyrs in terms of number, gender, age, and unusual details. Figures that undergo rudimentary individuation thus include those of individuals who wear different styles of clothing or carry penitential candles, a man whose pet dog goes up in flames with him, an aged woman, a crippled man with crutches, or men with long or short beards.⁶⁸ In addition to many isolated martyrs, the viewer encounters groups of two, three, four, five, and six martyrs.

Day provided a “preview” of this new woodcut series by using the moving woodcut of six martyrs in flames in Henry Bull’s edition of *Comfortable Letters*.⁶⁹ Its publication in 1564 suggests either that this picture influenced Day’s commissioning of the repertoire of non-narrative woodcuts for the

⁶⁵ L&I, STC 11223/5 and 98, the latter of which appears in 1583.

⁶⁶ Certain single-column illustrations new to 1570, such as 11223/42, 86, and 91, qualify as narrative cuts because they are used once, even though these images are designed in a manner akin to the sixteen new non-narrative images, which undergo repetition. Day also added three one-column non-martyrological woodcuts in 1570, two of which are used twice (L&I, STC 11223/22–23, 56).

⁶⁷ Luborsky, “Illustrations,” pp. 73, 76.

⁶⁸ A notation on the “good beards” of two muscular men, who are clad in loincloths and fold their hands in prayer as they are engulfed with flames, suggests that at least some early readers appreciated details of this kind (OSU BR1600 .F6 1583, copy 1, p. 1716).

⁶⁹ L&I, STC 11223/75.

1570 version of *Book of Martyrs* or that he initiated plans for a revision of the woodcut series within a year of the publication of the 1563 version. Men and women intermingle only in groupings of three or more martyrs. The absence of a newly commissioned woodcut of the burning of a man and woman together may therefore account for the isolated retention of a 1563 non-narrative woodcut in later editions. In this particular instance, Day may have chosen to conserve funds by reusing this cut rather than pay for a new one used in only one instance. In the 1583 edition, the compositor inserted no wording into the woodcut originally identified as Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper when he employed it to represent the death of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver, whom the narrative identifies as “Drivers wyfe” (p. 2049).

It seems likely that the cumbersomeness of setting type within banderoles contributed to the replacement of most of the small woodcuts that portray generic martyrdoms in the 1563 version. Two of the new non-narrative cuts contain wording, but it does not necessitate the setting of type because it is xylographic. In each case, this wording provides the names of persecutors whom Protestants vilified. The first incorrectly identifies the man who flails John Florence, a heretic who wears a loincloth and carries a penitential candle following his recantation, as “Bomer” (i.e., Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London). This prelate was born long after the death of the early fifteenth-century turner from East Anglia. The second picture identifies a cleric who orders an executioner to throw faggots at a martyr in flames as Dr. John Story.⁷⁰ The misidentification of the first persecutor highlights the difficulty that workers surely experienced in coordinating the smaller pictures with Foxe’s text.

In sharp contrast to Day’s elimination of the smaller woodcuts, he carried over all of the larger narrative woodcuts from the first edition and commissioned eighteen new ones. The new pictures include the three compartments of the “Table of the X. Persecutions.” This oversize fold-out illustration consists of three sheets of pasted-together paper, each one of which contains an exceedingly large and complicated woodcut. The three panels are filled with thirty-five portrayals of atrocities. The addition of “Henry VIII in Council,” a memorable woodcut commissioned by Richard Grafton for Edward Hall’s *Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancaster and York* (1550), brought the total number of large pictures to sixty-seven, including the three frames of the “Table of the X. Persecutions.”

⁷⁰ L&I, STC 11223/15, 74. In the third and fourth editions, the first picture is used twice to illustrate the suffering both of John Florence and of Thomas Pye and John Mendham.

As we shall see, it is important to note that only a single large picture – “Henry IV at Canossa (Figure 32) – appears more than once in the second edition. These large narrative cuts joined the small narrative and non-narrative cuts in remaining in use until the replacement of worn-out wooden blocks in the eighth edition published in 1641.

C. Hearing words

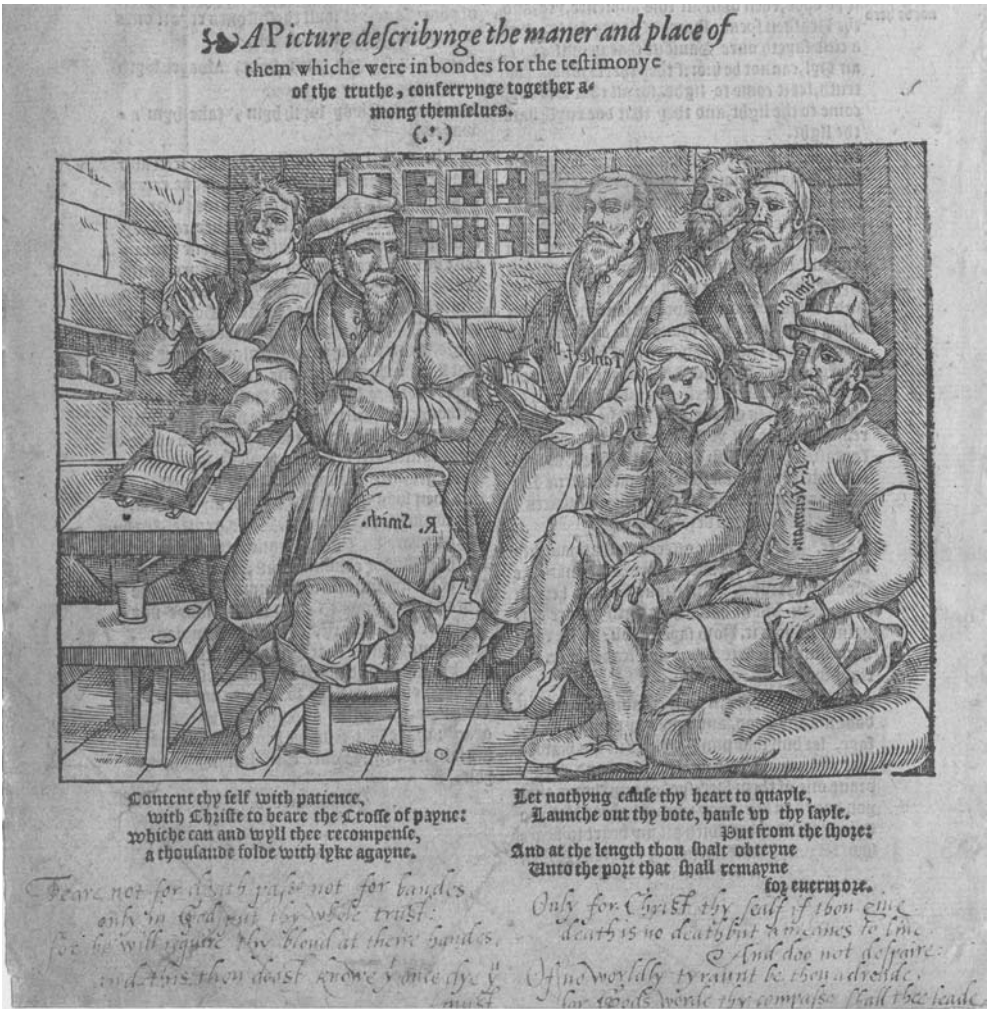
The woodcuts in the *Book of Martyrs* evidently function as a pictorial companion to the text. Even more, the illustrations are filled with wording of all sorts. The inclusion of speeches within highly dramatic scenes brings the text alive by presenting utterances as much more than words received through acts of reading. Many of the pictures accordingly constitute visual representations of speech acts as aural phenomena. More than half of the large narrative woodcuts incorporate wording that undergoes little if any change across the hand-press editions. These pictures differ from the smaller ones, both narrative and non-narrative, almost all of which lack wording. Most lettering is set in the form of drop-in typesettings for which compositors employed types of different founts and sizes depending on the dimensions of apertures cut into the wooden blocks (e.g., Figures 37–38). These typesettings typically convey final speeches attributed to martyrs *in extremis*. We should recognize that a small number of woodcuts contain xylographic lettering, but cutters did not use it to insert speeches despite the fact that the permanence of such wording would have eliminated the additional step of affixing type within apertures. Xylographic wording instead provides captions that identify individuals and significant objects. It may be that xylographic lettering could not be made small enough to accommodate the length of speeches set in type. In the portrayal of the posthumous execution of John Wyclif, for example, we encounter captions that identify the contents of an exhumed casket as “Wycklyfes Bon[e]s” (Figure 18). In an otherwise “silent” scene, inscriptions also identify attendant officials. The artist represents the temporal sequence of narrative action by portraying the initial lifting of bones at the center, their burning at the left, and, according to a typesetting at the right, “The ashes of Wickleffe cast into the river.” This wording remains the same across the early editions.

A semiotic boundary clearly exists between unframed xylographic captions, on the one hand, and typesettings that are carefully set within banderoles or, in rare instances, decorative cartouches, on the other hand.

The anomalousness of xylographic lettering is in keeping with the oddity of mirror writing within a woodcut portrait of imprisoned martyrs including Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, Cuthbert Simson, and John Newman (Figure 35). The cutter copied lettering in an artist's drawing as it appeared to the eye, in violation of the necessity of cutting lettering in reverse order to render it legible. This woodcut remained in use until artisans replaced the wooden blocks in 1641. At this time, a cutter produced readable lettering by inserting names in reverse. The books from which these dissidents read correspond to the narrative account of their daily prayer and Bible reading at Newgate Prison,⁷¹ but they also symbolize the autonomy of the Bible as a source of inspiration in accordance with the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*. This scene accordingly recalls depictions of Bible study in the inset at the lower left of the title page border of the *Book of Martyrs*, in addition to woodcuts of the imprisonment of Thomas Bilney and Hugh Latimer preaching before Edward VI (Figures 2, 20 and 28). The iconography of the book as an emblem for religious inspiration is rooted in the inclusion of codices in portrayals of the Four Evangelists, saints, scholars at desks, and lay readers in manuscript illuminations that date back to the early Christian era. The contrasting inclusion of scrolls identified figures as Old Testament writers or classical philosophers, writers, and scholars.

Typesettings within the woodcuts are reserved wholly, or almost wholly, for speeches that undergo oral delivery or for insertion of speech-like texts from the Bible or other sources. We encounter a stirring example of the latter within a cartouche for a woodcut portrayal of twenty-three prisoners from Colchester. This scene depicts a demographically stratified group of men and women of different ages, who are bound with ropes and guarded by armed men as they walk to London for interrogation by Edmund Bonner during the reign of Mary I. Particularly poignant are the figures of an aged woman who carried her belongings in a sheet or blanket and a bearded man who walks with the assistance of a cane. The book emblematic of the Bible in the hand of one man constitutes a meaningful iconographical detail. Letterpress verses contained within the cartouche direct a polemical attack against Bishop Bonner as a bloodthirsty wolf who preys on sheep within his flock in violation of his religious calling to “feed” faithful Christians:

⁷¹ 1583, p. 1695.



35. Presumably reading from books symbolic of the Bible, Robert Smith and another prisoner join fellow inmates in devotions. The presence of xylographic mirror writing indicates that the cutter of the wooden block, who may have been illiterate in English, cut unreversed lettering exactly as it appeared in the design prepared by an artist. An early reader wrote martyrological verses in the lower margin (see p. 296, below). *Book of Martyrs* (1563), OSU BR1600.F6 1563, p. 1260.

Beholde moe shepe here by,
Address to Boners stall:
Whose thursty throte so dry,
For more bloude styll dothe call.⁷²

⁷² L&I, STC 11222/48. For a reproduction from A&M (1641), see Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom*, fig. 4.

Replacement of this wording in the 1570 edition, only one year after Bonner's death in Marshalsea Prison, universalizes the significance of the Colchester believers by comparing them to latter-day disciples to whom Jesus prophesied that his followers who remain faithful to the point of death would attain salvation: "You shall be led before Princes and rulers for my names sake." He utters these consolatory words after declaring that he sends his disciples forth "like sheep among wolves" (Matt. 10:16, 18). Although this picture remains the same, the revised wording frames suffering within the broad sweep of martyrological history, rather than a specific historical event.⁷³

Early printers inherited banderoles and cartouches from illustrations in late medieval manuscripts. These devices for framing wording within pictures were particularly common in devotional books such as *Horae*, primers, and missals. The main functions of inscribed banderoles were to clarify the role of speakers, to make known their petitions, or to abstract and thereby emphasize particular textual passages. In addition to epitomizing textual segments, these devices might have channeled individuals in a program of directed reading. For example, the illuminations in the Sherborne Missal make extensive use of scrolls inscribed with titles, identifying names, relevant sayings or biblical phrases, and "spoken" words.⁷⁴ So also, the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves contains illuminations that feature elaborately inscribed banderoles. In these highly conventional scenes, scriptural wording fulfills typological expectations. One picture portrays three angels engaged in song as they hold a scroll bearing the first words of a canticle: *Te Deum Laudamus*. In the portrayal of the crucifixion, the centurion points at a scroll bearing these words: *Vere filius dei erat iste* ("Truly this was the Son of God"). The inscription of speeches in Latin was accessible to reading by *literati*, but also to *illiterati* who had memorized the sacred texts. In certain cases banderoles are devoid of wording, as is the case in the illumination for the Annunciation to Joachim.⁷⁵ It may be that a scribe forgot to inscribe text, but such inattention would be inconsistent with the exquisite care that went into the construction of this highly polished manuscript. Indeed, the patron could have engaged a scribe to supply the missing lettering. The blankness of this framing device and those in other books

⁷³ L&I, STC 11223/95.

⁷⁴ BL MS Add. 74236. See Janet Backhouse, *The Sherborne Missal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁷⁵ Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.945, fols. 11^r, 66^v, 2^r.

suggests that banderoles may function as semiotic representations of acts of speech, regardless of whether they contain lettering for the speeches themselves.⁷⁶

Among early modern English printers, William Caxton established a model for printing woodcuts with banderoles.⁷⁷ The hybrid character of the devices for the insertion of text within images is apparent in woodcuts that he commissioned for the *Mirror of the World*, a compendium of scientific knowledge often misattributed to St. Vincent of Beauvais (1481). In the unbound sheets of this book, a worker inscribed wording inside printed scrolls.⁷⁸ It may be that Caxton's type founts were too large to allow for drop-in typesettings either in these illustrations or in portrayals of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, St. Luke, and a generic figure of a king with which Caxton illustrated *The Golden Legend* (1483). At any rate, these woodcuts contain empty banderoles.⁷⁹ The blankness of the scroll in the first picture is notable, because Archangel Gabriel's formulaic words, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, are a ubiquitous feature of manuscript and printed versions of *Horae* and other devotional manuscripts. It might be that this empty banderole functioned as a mnemonic trigger for recollection of Latin words imprinted in the memory of faithful believers. The emptiness of banderoles and scrolls in other editions of *The Golden Legend* suggests that these devices symbolize acts of speech regardless of whether lettering is present.⁸⁰ In terms of the spiritual experience of devout readers, it may have made little difference whether a compositor inserted formulaic utterances in the form of drop-in typesettings. Regardless of whether written words appeared within banderoles, they might have been present in the mind of the beholder.

⁷⁶ See Camille, "Seeing and Reading," p. 29, and his "The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination," *Word and Image* 1 (1985), pp. 133, 143. See also Brian Johnson, "Word Balloons: A Grammatological History," *Rutgers Art Review* 18 (2000), pp. 79–85.

⁷⁷ For example, banderoles are a ubiquitous feature in books published by Wynkyn de Worde. See Martha W. Driver, "The Illustrated de Worde: An Overview," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996), pp. 349–403, *passim*.

⁷⁸ Lotte Hellinga, personal communication, 1 December 2003.

⁷⁹ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts: 1480–1535* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1935), nos. 271, 295, 252.

⁸⁰ The presence of wording in an Annunciation woodcut in the 1498 edition of the *Golden Legend* represents an exception (see Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 316). These conclusions are based on a survey of early modern editions of Caxton's translation at FL.

D. Image and text

Dying utterances by martyrs fill virtually all of the banderoles that appear within the narrative woodcuts in the *Book of Martyrs*.⁸¹ It may be that Foxe collaborated in the introduction of verbal testimonials that contribute to the affective impact of these spectacular pictures. These epigrammatic speeches include some of the most memorable wording in the collection. Although they sometimes contain direct quotations from the text *per se*, they more often constitute formulaic responses to persecution. These farewell speeches are governed, furthermore, by conventions associated with the tradition of the *ars moriendi* (“art of dying”). The ostentatious piety of last words accords with the widespread belief that such testimonials should command attention because individuals on the verge of death almost invariably speak the truth. It seems likely that readers experienced an entertaining *frisson* as an accompaniment to the religious instruction provided by these affective declarations. These moments of high drama culminate in stories about the *acts* of martyrs, which are filled with naturalistic detail, rather than their *monuments* (i.e., treatises, letters, and other textual vestiges). Abounding in aphorisms and maxims, the cartoonlike distillations of narrative provide vivid moments of human interest within stories that make up a relatively small component of a collection teeming in prolix documents. In his critique of Foxe’s martyrology, Robert Parsons, the Jesuit propagandist, recognizes the affective power of these utterances when he criticizes “certayne tender speaches attributed by him to sectaryes at their deathes, with his owne sanctifying & canonizinge them for Saints.”⁸²

Among the narrative images in 1570 that predate the intense burst of persecution during the last three years of the reign of Mary I, especially the single-column narrative images (even not including the “Table of the X. Persecutions” and “The Proud Primacie of Popes,” but more so if they are included), a large number of images contain no banderoles. Aside from the anomalous portrayal of the humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa by Pope Alexander III, their inclusion picks up with the martyrdom of John Badby, a Lollard tailor, who was condemned to die in 1410 under the terms of the notorious statute, *De haeretico comburendo* (“Of the burning of heretics”). Eight years after Parliament passed it in 1401, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, promulgated the equally notorious

⁸¹ Unless otherwise noted, I refer to woodcuts in *A&M* (1583) from this point forward.

⁸² Parsons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, 3.401.

Constitutions of Oxford to which abjuring heretics were forced to subscribe. This enforcement of religious conformity resulted in the most severe censorship in English history.⁸³ The depiction of Badby's execution by being burnt alive within a flaming barrel enhances Foxe's attack on both religious persecution and capital punishment. In the first edition, type set within a banderole attributes to the as yet anonymous victim a generic petition for deliverance – "Lorde Jesus Christ helpe me" – that is absent from his story.⁸⁴ From the second edition onward, however, a longer and more detailed narrative assigns a name to this martyr. By incorporating a different speech within the banderole – "Mercy Lord Jesu Christ mercy" – this new typesetting acknowledges that the revised story is punctuated with a final speech made up of a single word: "mercy."⁸⁵

The malleability of the drop-in typesetting for Badby's dying prayer exemplifies the status of banderoles as visual signs for formulaic utterance, rather than frames for verbatim transcriptions of verifiable words. Such is the case in the depiction of the execution of William Gardiner, an English merchant resident in Portugal, the severing of whose hands preceded his auto-da-fé in Lisbon during 1552. An executioner intensifies the torture by raising and lowering the victim's body in the flames over which it is suspended from a gallows by means of a pulley. Like the banderoles in Caxton's *Mirror of the World* and *Golden Legend*, this one is devoid of wording. This picture attracted the attention of a number of readers who inscribed speeches into the empty space. In one instance, an inscription attributes the following words to Gardiner: "I Suffer for the Truth" (Figure 36). The reader who inscribed this banderole appears to be the same one who has enhanced the pathos of this scene by augmenting the spurting of blood from the stumps of his hands by drawing in lines. In another instance, a reader writes the following pathetic appeal into the empty banderole: "Pitty, Pitty."⁸⁶ Yet another reader assigns to Gardiner a strident attack voiced in the manner of an Old Testament prophet: "O you wicked People."⁸⁷ In another copy, the banderole contains these words: "Lord rec[e]ave my sole"⁸⁸ This speech is altogether appropriate, but it does *not* occur in the narrative, which recounts the victim's recitation of

⁸³ David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 108–10.

⁸⁴ 1563, pp. 172–73; L&I, STC 12222/6.

⁸⁵ 1570, pp. 621–24; L&I, STC 12223/6.

⁸⁶ FL STC 11223, p. 1544.

⁸⁷ OSU BR1600 .F6 1583, copy 1, p. 1366.

⁸⁸ OSU BR1600 .F6 1576, copy 2, p. 1316.



36. A reader has attributed the last words, "I Suffer for the Truth," to William Gardiner by writing them into a banderole that lacks a drop-in typesetting. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), OSU BR1600. F6 1563, p. 879.

the Latin version of Psalm 43 as a prayer for vindication against injustice. The inscription instead invokes a prayer uttered by St. Stephen as a mob stoned him to death (Acts 7:59).

Because St. Stephen supplies the model for martyrdom in the New Testament, attribution of his last words to martyrs confers a typological

cast upon their experience. Appropriate to the execution of any martyr, these words recur, with slight variations, more often than any other dying prayer within banderoles in the *Book of Martyrs*. The woodcut of John Rogers is the most notable example, because Foxe asserts that he was a latter-day Stephen as the “first Protomartyr of all that blessed company that suffered in Queene Maries time.”⁸⁹ After all, St. Stephen was *the* protomartyr who led the way for ensuing Christian martyrs. As a zealous proselytizer during the early days of the church (Acts 6–7), he prefigures the role of preachers such as Rogers as agents of religious renewal. It is significant, then, that these words appear only in the woodcut, but not in the text of Rogers’s martyrology. Stephen’s own allusion to the last words of Jesus Christ on the Cross – “Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit” (Luke 23:46) – supplies a further resonance. Because condemned Protestants were known to rehearse their comportment at the point of death, we have no reason to doubt that these woodcuts represent martyrdom as an imitation of both Christ and St. Stephen. The reader encounters this formulaic prayer in portrayals of the burnings of John Hooper, Rowland Taylor, William Flower, Thomas Hawkes, Thomas Cranmer, and others.⁹⁰ A host of martyrs, who include Anne Askew and Thomas Cranmer, model their testimonials on St. Stephen.

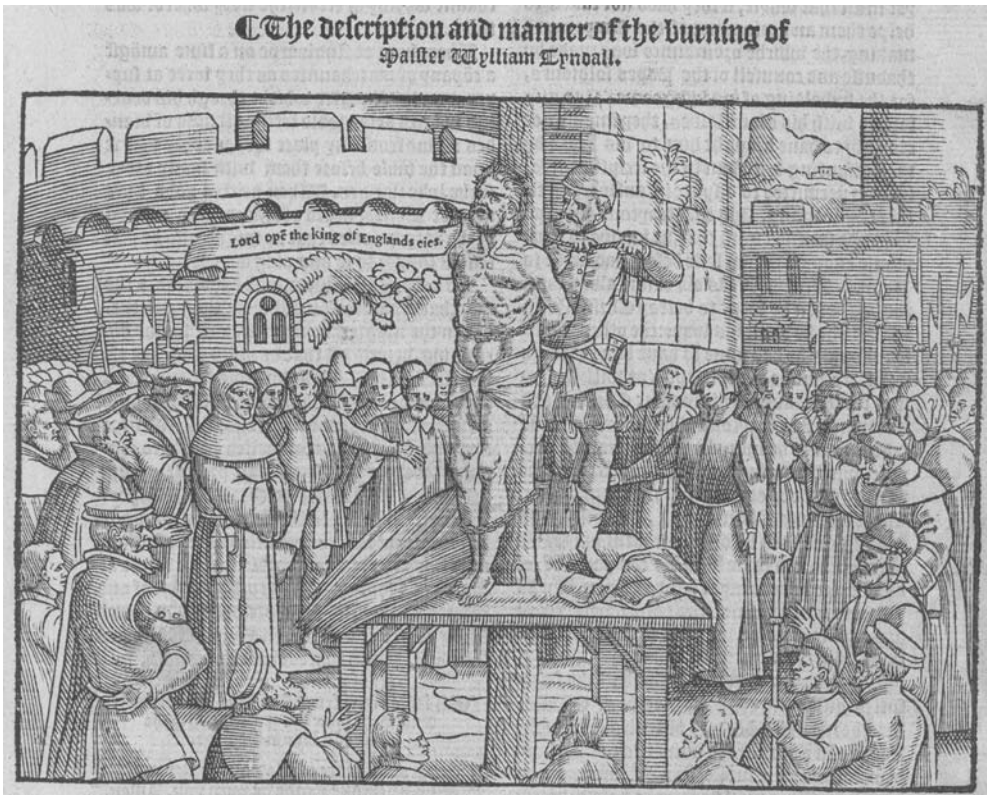
In other instances, drop-in typesettings extract dramatic speeches from utterances attributed to martyrs. John Lambert accordingly exclaims “None but Christ, none but Christ” as flames consume him at Smithfield in 1538, whereas John Philpot, Archdeacon at Winchester Cathedral, declares “I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield” upon his arrival at the site of his execution outside of London Wall. In a similar vein, John Bradford adopts a prophetic voice in his attempt to rouse compatriots with this appeal: “Repent England.”⁹¹ A martyr exclaims “Beware of Idolatry” in an illustration of the martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne.⁹² Perhaps the most notable example is the prayer attributed to William Tyndale, which functions as a clarion call for universal access to the Bible by every kind of reader: “Lord open the king of Englands eies.” The execution scene portrays the Bible translator chained to the stake as an executioner garrotes him before igniting his pyre (Figure 37). The crowd surrounding the scaffold includes jeering friars conventional in Foxean

⁸⁹ 1570, p. 1664.

⁹⁰ E.g., L&I, STC 11222/25, 26, 29, 31, 44. Minor variations in phraseology reflect differences in translation from Koine Greek.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, STC 11222/18, 19, 41, 34.

⁹² *Ibid.*, STC 11222/30.



37. William Tyndale utters a final prayer for the enlightenment of Henry VIII as the executioner garrotes him at Vilvorde, near Brussels. Malignant expressions and gestures of friars and monks constitute a conventional motif in John Day's repertoire of martyrological woodcuts. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 519.

woodcuts, in addition to soldiers, officials, and townspeople. The type-settings for Tyndale's last words vary in subsequent editions. The text at this portion of the second edition accordingly supplements the banderole through which Tyndale exclaims, "Lorde open the Kyng of Englandes eyes," with a declaration that he spoke with "fervent zeale, & a loud voice" before the hangman strangled him.⁹³

Latin and English coexist in a few woodcuts in the *Book of Martyrs*. The inclusion of wording accessible only to highly literate individuals might seem to support a scholar who cautions that it is "unwise to assume that the illustrations were intended to make the book more accessible, serving to bring the message to the illiterate masses." His argument attempts to set straight what he terms "three longstanding misconceptions" concerning the intended audience and reception of the woodcuts in the *Book of*

⁹³ 1563, p. 519; 1570, p. 1229.

Martyrs: (1) that the devisers planned the woodcuts in order to broaden the book's audience, (2) that the pictures instructed unlettered individuals, and (3) that the images were accessible to all potential viewers. Noting that provision of illustrations generally tended to lessen the popularity of books by driving up prices, this argument interrogates the long-standing belief attributed to Pope Gregory I (the Great) that religious pictures functioned as "books" for the instruction of illiterate lay people.⁹⁴

As appealing as this argument may seem, book illustration is inseparable from a circuit of communication that encompasses reading and speaking by literate individuals in addition to hearing and seeing by both the literate and illiterate. In the spirit of the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*, which endorses an ideal of universal literacy, other scholars have neither claimed that Foxe planned for the pictures to supplant textual instruction nor that they were so received. The *Book of Martyrs* was accessible not only to *literati* and *illiterati*, but also to wholly illiterate individuals who relied on readers in order to gain access to written documents. This is the view of Robert Parsons, whose contemporary attack on the woodcuts claims that "the foresaid spectacle and representation of martyrdomes (as they are called) delighteth many to gaze on, *who cannot read.*" He criticizes the pictures as a "pleasant (or rather peevish) invention, to entertayne the eyes of the simple readers *and lookers on*, & to make pastime for fooles."⁹⁵ We need to recall that the drawing of a sharp boundary between literacy and orality overlooks the prevalence of reading aloud during the early modern era. Indeed, oral recitation of letters, proclamations, and other documents "served to open the literate world to the uneducated and gave an extra dimension of voice and ceremony to those who needed such assistance."⁹⁶

Literacy, orality, and visibility were porous categories during the early modern era. It seems unreasonable to conclude that Foxe and his associates planned to exclude illiterate individuals. After all, it was the practice of unlettered medieval aristocrats to gaze on illuminations as servants or courtiers read aloud from manuscripts that they themselves were incapable of reading.⁹⁷ The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby notes that she

⁹⁴ Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, pp. 128, 124.

⁹⁵ Parsons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, 3.400, 1.549. Emphasis added.

⁹⁶ David Cressy, "The Environment for Literacy: Accomplishment and Context in Seventeenth-Century England and New England," in *Literacy in Historical Perspective*, ed. Daniel P. Resnick (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983), p. 34. See Camille, "Seeing and Reading," pp. 32, 43; and "Book of Signs," pp. 133–34.

⁹⁷ *ERL*, pp. 39–40.

preferred to hear, rather than read, the *Book of Martyrs*.⁹⁸ On the other hand, illiterate individuals could have been responsible for the presence of doodling and the inking-in of features of woodcuts, which we encounter in many editions. Documentation of the provision of a copy of Foxe's book for reading as an accompaniment to the drinking of ale at one public house suggests that copies were accessible for reading, hearing, and seeing by literate and illiterate individuals at all social levels.⁹⁹ In the case of Rawlins White, for example, an "illiterate" fisherman memorized the English Bible after arranging for the education of his son in order to allow him to read the text aloud. The father's remarkable memory enabled him to travel about as an itinerant evangelist who expounded scriptural texts that he recited.¹⁰⁰ His ability to preach demonstrates that early modern "literacy" encompassed not only silent reading, but also reading aloud and aural reception.¹⁰¹

We encounter a good example of the inclusion of Latin wording in what may be the best-remembered depiction of martyrdom in the whole of the *Book of Martyrs*. Within a complicated portrayal of a double execution (Figure 38), Hugh Latimer delivers a final petition ("Father of heaven receve my soule") in tandem with Nicholas Ridley's recitation of a prayer in Latin ("In manus tuas domine"). Alluding respectively to the dying words of St. Stephen and Jesus Christ, they supply wording that a compositor has truncated in order to fit the aperture available for drop-in typesetting.¹⁰² Not only are Ridley's words inaccessible to *illiterati* incapable of understanding Latin, but they would make sense only to *literati* able to move from picture to text in order to translate the unabridged Latin version of the last words of Jesus Christ: "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46). This woodcut typifies John Day's house style, because Dr. Richard Smith speaks from a portable wooden pulpit set up within the multitude that encircles the martyrs in front of the cityscape in the background. A banderole contains an abbreviated Latin version of a Pauline text on which he preaches: "I may dole out all I possess, or even

⁹⁸ See pp. 290–91, below. ⁹⁹ See pp. 283–84, below. ¹⁰⁰ 1570, pp. 1726–29.

¹⁰¹ See Walter J. Ong, S. J., "Oral Residue in Tudor Prose Style," in *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), ch. 2; and R. W. Scribner, "Oral Culture and the Transmission of Reformation Ideas," in *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, ed. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), pp. 83–104.

¹⁰² L&I, STC 11222/38.



38. This fold-out woodcut portrays Dr. Richard Smith preaching from a portable pulpit at the execution of Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley in Broad Street outside of the walls of Oxford. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), tipped in at pp. 1378–79.

give my body to be burnt, but if I have no love, I am none the better” (1 Cor. 13:3). In addition to the prominent use of Latin, banderoles contain drop-in typesettings for English speeches in addition to xylographic captions that identify key individuals. From atop Bocardo Prison, Thomas Cranmer prays: “O Lord strengthen them.” Smith’s delivery of a “wicked Sermon” (1570, p. 1937) before an audience centered on the two martyrs inverts the dynamics of the preceding depiction of Latimer preaching to Edward VI and his courtiers from an elaborate outdoor pulpit erected in the privy gardens at Whitehall Palace (Figure 28). In accordance with the obituary pattern observed by Foxe, the earlier picture functions as an illustration not of the history of Edward VI’s reign, but of the biography of Latimer that precedes the account of his martyrdom. His portrayal in the midst of life thus enhances our understanding of his death.

Another instance of Latin wording gives insight into the overall iconographical design for the collection and its revision in the 1570 edition. It

occurs in the portrayal of Pope Alexander III humiliating Frederick Barbarossa by treading on the neck of the prone emperor (Figure 33). The foregoing discussion of its anomalous size and placement suggests that Day commissioned this woodcut while the program of illustration and standard sizes for the wooden blocks were still in flux. Wording set into this woodcut corresponds precisely to Latin speeches within the accompanying text:

The proude Pope setting his foote upon the emperours necke, saide the verse of the Psalme: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis Leonem et draconem*: That is. Thou shalt walke upon the adder, & the Basiliske: And shalt treade dowue [*sic*] the Lion and the dragon. &c. To whom the Emperour answering againe, saide: *Non tibi, sed petro*: that is: not to thee, but to Peter. The Pope again, *Et mihi, et Petro*. Bothe to me and to Peter. The Emperour fearing to to [*sic*] geve any occasion of further quareling, helde his peace: and so was absoyled [*i.e.*, absolved], and peace made betwene them.¹⁰³

This passage derides the pope's alleged misapplication of Psalm 91:13 in defense of papal primacy. Set into the lower banderole, we read epigrammatic dialogue in which the emperor asserts political autonomy by declaring that he offers obeisance not to the pope, but to Peter the Apostle. The pope instead insists that he holds supreme authority as the successor to St. Peter as the first Bishop of Rome.

In the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, the only other caricatures of popes are in the related portrayal of the submission of Henry IV at Canossa and the initial C that inverts the dynamics of these woodcuts by positioning Elizabeth I over a defeated pontiff (Figures 31–32). These pictures mock the papal claim to apostolic succession from Peter, whose image is conspicuously absent from the 1563 version, which begins long after events during the apostolic era. Foxe collaborated with Day, however, in the introduction of subtly iconoclastic pictures in the first of three oversize panels within “A Table of the X. first Persecutions of the Primitive Church under the Heathen Tyrannes of Rome.” This panel portrays the martyrdom of Peter, whose suffering corresponds to that of other Christians who are thrown from mountains, stabbed with forks, hung from crosses, or disemboweled. (Figure 39). His upside-down crucifixion during the reign of terror instituted by Nero is a traditional motif, but the failure of this picture to differentiate between the bodily appearance of the apostle and other martyrs denies prelatical status to him in an

¹⁰³ 1563, p. 41.

anti-sacerdotal picture informed by the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. The conspicuous absence of pontifical vestments, tiara, crossed keys, and tonsure contradicts the iconography of Peter as the first Bishop of Rome in a multitude of books including translations of the *Legenda Aurea* into the vernacular. The absence of illustrations from many manuscript and printed copies of the Latin text of this collection of saints' lives suggests that inclusion of pictures catered to the needs of *illiterati* and unlettered individuals who may have looked at the illustrations as they heard literate companions read aloud.¹⁰⁴ As a general rule, the illustration of printed books is more typical of vernacular rather than Latin texts.

The martyrdoms portrayed in the "Table of the X. first Persecutions" occurred during the 300 years prior to the reign of Emperor Constantine I, who declared Christianity an official religion of the Roman Empire. These sufferings prefigure the persecutions brought to a halt at the death of Mary I, hence the portrayal of Elizabeth I as a new Constantine. John Day printed this fold-out portrayal of "X. Persecutions" both for inclusion in the *Book of Martyrs* and for independent sale. In either case, owners might choose to hang it on walls. Sale of this picture in the manner of an oversize broadside would have brought in added income, but would also have functioned as a means of advertising the *Book of Martyrs* as a whole. Its detachability and spectacular visual imagery have led to its survival in very few copies. Printed on three pasted together sheets of paper, this fold-out functions furthermore as an elaborate pictorial readers' guide to the ninety-page-long account of imperial persecutions that Foxe added following the first edition. Its captions direct readers to passages concerning "Christians scraped with sharpe shelles. 79.," "Some burnt with their entrails torne out. 34.," "The Christians stabbed in with forkes. 34. 92.," and so forth.¹⁰⁵

Amidst an array of anonymous figures, only three portrayals of traditional saints join St. Peter in the "Table of the X. first Persecutions." Because these figures depart from late medieval conventions, in certain

¹⁰⁴ I refer to the following manuscripts and incunabula at Bibliotheca Ambrosiana (Milan): MSS A 17. Part. Inf., A 98 sup., C.240 inf., M. 76 sup., Inc. 928, and Inc. 1455.

¹⁰⁵ The 1610 version is the earliest instance of this "Table" cited in *STC* or *ESTC*, but my personal copy of *A&M* (1583) contains a version with correct page citations. A copy of the 1570 edition at Cambridge University Library contains a version of this fold-out woodcut (L&I, *STC* 11223/1A). In *Cheap Print*, p. 158, Tessa Watt notes that five extant freestanding copies of the 1610 and 1632 illustrations appear to have been sold independently. For reproductions of the three panels of this fold-out illustration and discussion of iconographical antecedents of

respects, they call into question the claim that the Foxe–Day program of illustration is “iconic” rather than iconoclastic.¹⁰⁶ Wholly absent are the iconic emblems that identify stylized representations of saints in pre-Reformation and Counter-Reformation stained glass windows, religious images, and book illustrations. Excluded from Foxean woodcuts are traditional images of the Madonna and Child and nimbed figures of saints, many of whom adore a wholly anthropomorphized image of the Trinity in the frontispiece of Caxton’s *Golden Legend* (Figure 40). Inviting the pious gaze of devotees who look on them as intercessors between human and divine, the static iconicity of hieratic images of saints who appear immune to pain and suffering is very different from the physical contortion, dynamic emotionality, and realism of Foxean woodcuts. The late medieval images discharge a symbolic function whereby iconographical attributes identify saints in a wholly conventional manner. A tiara and key therefore identify St. Peter at the forefront of the Caxton frontispiece, which includes representations of St. Catherine with the sword of her decollation, St. Barbara holding her castle, St. James wearing a pilgrim’s hat with a scallop shell symbolic of his shrine at Compostella, and St. Edmund wearing his royal crown and holding an arrow. By contrast, the calendar inserted in the 1563 and 1583 versions of the *Book of Martyrs* (see Chapter 4.B) rejects older notions of sainthood by eliminating scores of saints’ days and retaining only a few red-letter entries for biblical saints such as Peter and Paul, whom Protestants honored not for acts of intercession or the working of miracles, but because of their holy *acts* and writing of textual *monuments*, notably books within the canon of the New Testament. St. Stephen similarly takes a prominent place among Foxe’s red-letter martyrs.

In the foreground of the left-hand panel of the “Table of the X. first Persecutions,” the muscular figure of “Laurence layd upon the Gridyron” exemplifies how Foxean woodcuts function in an iconoclastic, rather than an iconic manner (Figure 39). Unlike the frontispiece of Caxton’s *Golden Legend*, which contains a blandly beatific portrayal of a beardless and tonsured saint with griddle in hand, the blunt simplicity of Foxe’s naturalistic portrayal emphasizes the humanity of the athletic figure of the saint. The two pictures share a griddle in common, but the Foxean woodcut portrays it as a full-size naturalistic element used in torture rather than a

the scenes that they portray, see Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” pp. 101–14, and figs. 4.22, 4.44–46.

¹⁰⁶ Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, p. 138. Luborsky more convincingly claims that the smaller pictures of “anonymous martyrs burning at the stake become cumulatively affective as semi-icons” (L&I, p. 366).



40. Saints carrying iconographical emblems adore the Trinity, which undergoes anthropomorphic representation in the frontispiece of William Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (1483), fol. 5^r.

demurely iconic attribute held by the victim.¹⁰⁷ A portrayal of this martyrdom in a contemporary Catholic martyrology offers a more instructive contrast because the general pose of the saint's body and dimensions of the

¹⁰⁷ Human-size griddles represented a conventional element in pre-Reformation books such as the *Catalogus sanctorum* of Pietro de Natali (fol. 156^r), but these woodcuts or manuscript illuminations lack the naturalistic style of the woodcuts in *A&M*.

grid iron correspond to those in John Day's woodcut. Crafted by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, this highly dramatic copy of a mural painted by Niccolò Circignano at the English College in Rome portrays a victim disengaged from pain and suffering as he makes a stylized hand gesture in an antique setting (Figure 41). Both pictures differ from the Caxton woodcut in their realistic narrative, and in the torsion and classicization of the nude bodies, but the stylish distortion that the effeminate body of the saint undergoes in the Cavalieri engraving are consonant with the artistic principles of the Counter-Reformation. For example, his neck undergoes unrealistic elongation characteristic of Manneristic style. Reminding the viewer of Lawrence's status as a deacon, the tonsure that marks him as a cleric is an appropriate detail for a copy of a propagandistic fresco that portrayed a fate akin to that which awaited many of the English seminarians who were studying at the English College. They faced execution when they returned from Rome to England as missionary priests.¹⁰⁸ This pictorial detail is anachronistic, however, because the shaving of heads as a mark of ordination did not begin until after the cessation of the imperial persecutions. It is worthy of note that the unshorn hair and beardedness of St. Lawrence in John Day's woodcut represent a departure from the Catholic clerical model.

In the "Table of the X. first Persecutions," the naked saint writhes in pain on the grill on which persecutors are said to have roasted him alive. Its appearance furnishes a pronounced contrast to that of the emblematic gridiron in the hand of this saint in a host of pre-Reformation images. The three panels of this fold-out contain a multitude of cartouches that label individual atrocities and direct readers to corresponding portions of Foxe's history. Only for the portrayal of St. Lawrence do we encounter a banderole. Indeed, its singularity underscores the semiotic link between this framing device and the spoken words that it contains. The drop-in typesetting records the memorable final words of St. Lawrence: "This side is now ro[a]sted inough, turne [me] up [i.e., over] O tyrant great. &c." Although this seriocomic speech is doubtlessly apocryphal, it accords with the attribution of witty final words to martyrs throughout the ages. Frequently containing flashes of macabre humor, these quasi-epitaphic testimonials identify martyrs as witnesses to religious faith. Indeed St. Lawrence supplies a model for Foxean saints such as Lawrence Saunders, whose patient suffering as he dies a slow

¹⁰⁸ See Richard Williams, "Libels and payntinges": Elizabethan Catholics and the International Campaign of Visual Propaganda," in *JFHW*, p. 206, fig. 11.4.



41. Giovanni Battista Cavalieri modeled this stylized copperplate engraving of the execution of St. Lawrence on a mural by Niccolò Circignano at the English College in Rome (compare Figure 39, lower left). *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophæa* (Rome: Bartholomeo Grassi, 1584), engraving 18.

death in a smoldering fire kindled with green wood undergoes comparison to the fortitude of St. Lawrence.¹⁰⁹

The "Table of the X. first Persecutions" represents the initial installment in a sweeping overhaul of the program of illustration in the 1570 version. Many woodcuts added in the second edition function as iconographical expansions of the three antipapal caricatures found in the first edition. The historiated C remains in place as the initial capital for Foxe's revised dedication to Elizabeth I, but the depiction of the humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa (Figure 33) no longer precedes the history of the Waldenses, a heretical sect dwelling in the Alps whose members were persecuted by adherents of the Church of Rome. Still falling at the end of Foxe's account of protracted conflict between imperial and papal authority, this memorable picture now serves as a visual preamble to the ensuing life of Thomas Becket, the cleric whose onetime master, Henry II, appointed him to the see of Canterbury only to recoil against his assertion of papal supremacy over the English monarchy. Through its mockery of the archbishop as a pseudo-martyr, the *Book of Martyrs* recalls the iconoclastic dismantling of shrines dedicated to St. Thomas Becket, which took place during the 1530s. Conspicuously absent is the conventional iconic image of the murder of Becket, during celebration of the Mass, by knights who act at the behest of King Henry. A heavily worn copy of the *Golden Legend* once owned by a parish in Berkshire documents contemporary assault on the Becket cult. At some point during the mid- to late sixteenth century, an iconoclast inked out references to the churchman and tore out the depiction of his martyrdom. The destruction of Caxton's woodcut corresponds to its omission from the *Book of Martyrs*. This copy is all the more interesting because it was chained for public reading in the parish church at Denchworth in a manner similar to the later placement of copies of Foxe's martyrology at many churches.¹¹⁰

The papal diadem is a key element in the most important visual motif, the victory of the Crown over the Tiara, which governs the expanded program of illustration in the second edition and its successors.¹¹¹ The three aforementioned antipapal caricatures afford the germ of this motif, notably the historiated C in which Elizabeth I wears an imperial crown on her head as she sits enthroned over a pope whose figure accompanies demonic serpents entwined in the lower half of this initial capital

¹⁰⁹ 1583, p. 1499.

¹¹⁰ Hodnett, no. 264. See *ERL*, pp. 40, 147–49.

¹¹¹ Eighteen pictures contain crowns, twelve tiaras, and ten the composite emblem of the Crown versus the Tiara.

(Figure 31). The shattered keys in his hand recall a similar detail in German Lutheran visual satire.¹¹² In contrast to the small number of antipapal caricatures in the first edition, one-third of the thirty-six narrative woodcuts added to the second edition mock the papal diadem. These squibs not only accord with the Protestant denial that the Bishops of Rome inherit the keys of St. Peter symbolic of both spiritual and temporal authority, but they also deny that the papal tiara constitutes appropriate episcopal headgear. These symbols are conspicuously absent in the portrayal of Peter not as a Roman pontiff, but as a nearly nude martyr in the “Table of the X. first Persecutions.” In addition, Day commissioned a non-narrative cut of the heraldic arms of Pope Clement VII. Set within the ruled lines of his decree against granting a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, this device contributes to the striking visual appearance of a quasi-facsimile of this document (Figure 42).¹¹³

“The Proud Primacie of Popes” is the most spectacular addition to the second edition of *Book of Martyrs*. Focusing on the humiliation of kings and emperors by Roman pontiffs, this section consists of a sequence of twelve woodcuts appended at the end of the first volume of the reconfigured collection.¹¹⁴ Lack of pagination is consonant with its addition after the completion of the printing of the text *per se*. These pictures illustrate an appendix that incorporates new material in addition to a collection of papal decrees that John Day published in 1560 without acknowledgment of Foxe’s editorship.¹¹⁵ The addition of this visual coda tailors the heavily revised and expanded second edition to fit the religious-political circumstances of the time following the promulgation in February 1570 of a bull in which Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I. By absolving her subjects from obedience to a heretical monarch during the immediate aftermath of the Northern Rebellion, this decree intensified the already powerful antipapal sentiments of Foxe and his coreligionists. The late addition of this portrait gallery of excommunications and depositions of secular rulers implicitly glorifies Henry VIII and Elizabeth I as monarchs who countered papal usurpation of temporal power (see Figures 43 and 31).

¹¹² Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*,” no. 58.

¹¹³ L&I, STC 11223/56. The coat of arms of Clement VII appears only in 1570. *A&M* (1576) lacks this papal arms. The heraldic arms of Julius II replace those of Clement VIII in *A&M* (1583), p. 1280. The cramming of this text into a single column that lacks ruling negates this impressive visual effect in *A&M* (1583).

¹¹⁴ 1570, 2N1^r-2O2^v. See *TRI*, pp. 138–52, figs. 38–49.

¹¹⁵ See Thomas Freeman, “A Solemne Contestation of Diverse Popes: A Work by John Foxe?” *English Language Notes* 31.3 (1994), pp. 35–42.



43. Enthroned in the definitive posture seen in Hans Holbein's woodcut title page for the Coverdale Bible (1535), Henry VIII plants his feet on the back of Pope Clement VII, whose tiara topples from his head in this allegory of the Henrician Reformation. Identified by xylographic lettering, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell receive an iconic book that appears to be the Bible from the king. In actual fact, the strict symbolism of this book is that of the parliamentary acts that abolished papal power in England. Reacting with consternation, the supporters of the pontiff include Bishop John Fisher, who was executed during the following year, and Reginald Pole, whose cardinal's hat represents an anachronism. A mule symbolic of papal aggrandizement stands ready to return the fallen pope to Rome. Compare the depictions of Edward VI and Elizabeth I in Figures 23 and 31. *Book of Martyrs* (1570), p. 1201.

The compiler stresses the interconnection between this appendix and the "Table of the X. first Persecutions" by noting that it had already "set forth & exhibited before thine eies the grevous afflictions and sorowful tormentes, which through Gods secret sufferance, fell on the true Saints

and members of Christes Church in that tyme.”¹¹⁶ Indeed, the first woodcut in “The proud primacie of Popes” offers a reprise of martyrdoms portrayed in the fold-out, notably the upside-down crucifixion of St. Peter.¹¹⁷ Two ensuing pictures portray Constantine I embracing Christian bishops and then a figure representative of emperors such as Constantine and Theodosius, who enthrone a figure representative of the Bishops of Rome in a position of parity on a joint imperial-episcopal throne. A papal tiara is nowhere in sight because the miter worn by the bishop is attuned to the derivation of “bishop” from ἐπίσκοπος (“overseer”). His carrying of a book emblematic of the Bible is in keeping with the bishop’s function as a spiritual superintendent in the early Christian church. A marginal gloss debunks papal claims to temporal authority by rejecting the Donation of Constantine as “a thing false and forged.”¹¹⁸

We may note the seminal role played by the woodcut of Henry IV at Canossa (Figure 32) because it is unique not only in being carried over from the first edition, but as the solitary example of the reuse of a narrative woodcut within the *Book of Martyrs*. The headline provides a cross-reference to page 232, which contains the earlier account of “Henricus 4 Emperour waiting iii. daies upon Pope Gregory 7” (2N3^v). The designer’s omission from the appendix of the picture of Pope Alexander III treading on the neck of Frederick Barbarossa (Figure 33), despite its status as a crucial iconographical model, may seem puzzling. Omission of this small woodcut makes sense, however, because its anomalous size would have disrupted the visual design of an appendix made up of pictures of roughly the same size. The importance of the humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa is acknowledged, however, by the substitution of a woodcut in which he cowers beneath the equestrian figure of Pope Adrian IV, who chides him for holding his “styrrup on the wrong side” (2O1^v). The remaining pictures feature enthroned pontiffs of the high Middle Ages, kings offering submission to papal legates, and popes riding in procession or being carried in state. In one instance, a caricature mocks a pope through the inclusion of a pet monkey, which symbolizes folly and vanity. By pointing from one to the other, a court jester suggests that the pope “apes” the beast. Elaborate vestments and tiaras correspond to oversize pairs of keys in the hands of popes.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ 1570, 2N1^r.

¹¹⁷ *TRI*, fig. 38.

¹¹⁸ 1570, 2N2^r.

¹¹⁹ Even though the keys in the hand of a murderer of Richard Hun constitute a naturalistic detail (L&I, *STC* 11222/13), they might remind some viewers of keys visible in caricatures of popes.

These pictures mock papal pretensions to temporal authority with cartoon-like portrayals of kings or emperors in the act of abasing themselves by kissing the feet or knee of grimacing popes or legates, surrendering crowns, receiving coronation by means of the pope's feet, or walking on the ground in advance of popes who ride aloft or are carried in state. In his abridgement of Foxe's martyrological history, *Christ's Victory Over Satan's Tyranny*, Thomas Mason highlights the centrality of these themes: "In these, and many other respects (as this booke will teach thee) doth the Pope exalt himself as God . . . and he exalts himselfe above all kings, which are called Gods, and at his pleasure with excommunications can cast them out of heaven and out of their kingdoms, as himselfe saith: he hath trode upon Emperours, & made them kisse his feet, hold his stirrups, and leade his horse" (A5). Portrayal of King John's surrender of his crown to the papal legate furthermore functions as a visual sequel to the fold-out woodcut of his poisoning by Simon, a monk of Swinstead Abbey who offers a goblet of poison to the king with the salutation "Wassail my lige."¹²⁰ Having received anticipatory absolution from his abbot, the monk himself dies after drinking this lethal toast to the king. Succeeding processional figures of popes riding on a mule or horse warrant comparison with visual satires published in Lutheran Germany, which contrast their equestrian pomp with the humility of Christ, who walked barefoot on the ground or rode a lowly ass into Jerusalem. The *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (Wittenberg, 1521) is a good model for the sardonic juxtaposition of the papal diadem with the Crown of Thorns worn by Christ as King of the Jews.¹²¹ This influential work was arguably "the most successful work of visual propaganda produced by the Reformation."¹²² In portraying an enthroned pope borne on a baldachino, with an emperor and kings "going before him," the final picture in "The proud primacie of Popes" aligns the Church of Rome with the Whore of Babylon: "The kings of the earth have committed fornication with her" (Rev. 17:2). Alluding to the Babylonian Captivity of the church, this woodcut anticipates the downfall of the papacy in fulfillment of the prophecy of the Fall of Babylon (Rev. 18).

In the third edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, a newly added visual allegory functions as a coda to "The Proud Primacie of Popes" (Figure 29). The caption that describes it as "A lively picture describyng the weight and

¹²⁰ *TRI*, figs. 45 and 57.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 127–30.

¹²² Scribner, "For the Sake of Simple Folk," p. 149.

substance of Gods most blessed word, agaynst the doctrines and vanities of mans traditions" (p. 771) is almost identical to the one that accompanies the same woodcut in the Day-Foxe edition of the *Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes* (RRr4^v). Although the publisher initially used the woodcut as an illustration for this collection of Protestant tracts, he manifestly commissioned it for the 1576 version of his martyrological history.¹²³ Centering on a personification of Justice, armed with sword and scales, this tableau constitutes a triumphant visualization of the doctrine of *sola scriptura*. The sword and scales carried by the blindfolded figure of Justice derive from classical tradition, but they also symbolize the spiritual authority of "Verbum Dei" (the "Word of God") that triumphantly outweighs the heaped pile of decrees, decretals, rosaries, images, and wealth of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of Rome. Representing the Bible as *the* self-revelatory Book, which outweighs unwritten traditions embodied in Roman Catholic books and ritual practices, this woodcut portrays the Reformation as a battle between divine revelation and the spiritual *lightness* of Roman Catholic beliefs. The humble attire of Christ and the disciples, as they walk barefoot on the ground, affords a sharp contrast to ostentatious religious vestments and the tiara on the head of yet another pope.

The printing of this picture in *Whole Works* is accompanied by a detailed iconographical program composed in fourteen couplets:

How light is chaffe of Popish toyes, if thou desire to trye,
 Loe Justice holdes true beame without respect of partiall eye:
 One ballance holdes Gods holy word, and on the other parte,
 Is layde the dregs of Antichrist, devisde by Popish arte:
 Let Friers and Nunnes and baldpate Priestes, with triple crowne of Pope,
 The Cardinals hatt, and devill him selfe, by force plucke downe the rope:
 Bryng bell, booke, candle, crosse, & beades, and mitred Basan bull,
 Bryng buls of leade and Popes Decrees, the ballance downe to pull:
 Yet shall these tares and filthy dregs, invented by mans brayne,
 Through force of Gods most mighty word, be found both light and vayne.

Providing a program for understanding the caricature, this versified explanation identifies the pope with Antichrist and mocks both the use of rosary beads by pious communicants and the attribution of supernatural power to the bell, book, and candle employed by priests in exorcism. This

¹²³ L&I, STC 24436/3. See Luborsky, "Illustrations," pp. 82–83.

poem focuses attention on the key iconographical detail, whereby an attendant demon is unable to pull down the scale into which the pontiff pours coins (or possibly Mass wafers). The spiritual *weight* of the Bible corresponds to medieval iconography according to which the souls of the saved are heavier than those of the damned. An epigraph explains that this woodcut is a pictorial exploration of a scriptural text, “Great is the trueth and prevayleth” (1 Esdras 4: 41).

The positioning of a woodcut of “Henry VIII and his Privy Council”¹²⁴ as a frontispiece to the second volume in both the second and third editions paired it with “The Proud Primacie of Popes” in the manner of a diptych. This iconographical hinge separates pre-Reformation material in volume 1, which contains many pictures of the abasement of the Crown beneath the Tiara, from that in volume 2, in which this motif undergoes reversal in recurrent victories of the Crown over the Tiara. Even though this woodcut *per se* is non-polemical, Richard Grafton commissioned it originally as an illustration for a book with a notably Protestant bent: Hall’s *Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancaster and York*. He then reused it in John Marbeck’s *Concordance . . . [of] the Whole Bible* (1550). An ensuing woodcut added to the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs* satirizes the papacy in a representation of one of the most important, if not most important, religio-political events during the reign of Henry VIII: the Act of Supremacy of 1534.¹²⁵ This legislation consummated England’s schism from the Church of Rome. Clearly modeled on the portrayal of Elizabeth I and a pope in the initial capital C (Figure 31), this picture portrays the enthroned king planting his feet on the back of Pope Clement VII in the manner of a footstool (Figure 43). Xylographic lettering identifies key figures in attendance. They include Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who assisted Henry VIII in effecting the political Reformation that transpired during the 1530s, and Bishop John Fisher and Cardinal Reginald Pole, who defended Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Crucial iconographical details are positioned on a vertical axis: crown, sword, Bible, and tiara. In conjunction with the portrayal of the reign of Edward VI (Figure 23), these depictions of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I fuse the Protestant monarchical emblem of the Sword and Book, which symbolizes the primacy of the Bible, with the motif of

¹²⁴ L&I, STC 12721.

¹²⁵ 1570, p. 1201. For further discussion of this woodcut and the preceding example, and their iconographical antecedents, see TRI, pp. 157–72; Aston, *King’s Bedpost*, pp. 135–66; and Aston and Ingram, “Iconography,” pp. 122–37.

the Crown versus the Tiara. The primacy of the Bible is conjoined with England's independence from papal authority.¹²⁶ When a repetition of this caricature supplanted "Henry VIII and His Privy Council" in the fourth edition, its use as a frontispiece for the second volume intensified Foxe's identification of the king's reign as a turning away from centuries of papal arrogation of political supremacy. From this point onward, the portrayal of King Henry as a Reformation monarch would "face" the conclusive allegory of Christian Justice at the end of "The Proud Primacie of Popes."

Over and beyond the religio-political theme of the Crown versus the Tiara, ubiquitous images of incarceration, torture, and death exert an extraordinary cumulative affective impact on present-day readers. That they had a similar impact during early modern times, when public execution for heresy or treason was commonplace, constitutes a tribute to Foxe's repugnance against capital punishment in general, and the Marian persecutions in particular. The viewer encounters images of execution by hanging or quartering, in addition to burial and exhumation, but spectacular portrayals of bodies in flames predominate from the title page onward. Not only does this enduring theme of burning inform the posthumous "execution" of the exhumed bones of heretics and the incineration of prohibited books or images,¹²⁷ but it undergoes powerful metaphorical elaboration in woodcuts that portray the placement of hands in flames.

Portrayal of the burning of hands emphasizes the importance of hand gestures within the woodcut repertoire. In the title page border, for example, Christ the Judge welcomes the souls of the saved with an uplifted right hand at the same time that he condemns fallen angels and adherents of the "false" church with a downward motion of his left (Figure 2). The hands of dying martyrs are folded or upraised in virtually all of the small non-narrative woodcuts. Many narrative pictures contain similar gestures, whose semiological significance as indicators of prayerful piety, on the one hand, and wonderment, worship, victory, or protest, on the other, is conventional to the present day (Figures 24, 35, 48).¹²⁸ Portrayal of a man wiping tears from his eyes in the depiction of the execution of John

¹²⁶ See *TRI*, pp. 54–115, passim; and Dale Hoak, "The Iconography of the Crown Imperial," in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 93.

¹²⁷ For a reproduction of the picture of the auto-da-fé that consumed both the exhumed bones and theological books written by Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, see Diehl, *Staging Reform*, fig. 5.

¹²⁸ See also *JFHW*, figs. 8.3, 8.5–8.



44. Xylographic lettering identifies “Bōno” (i.e., Edmund Bonner) as he flogs a prisoner in the orchard at Fulham Palace, his country residence as the Bishop of London. In a sadistic scene that suggests homoerotic overtones, an attendant covers his eyes in a gesture of guilty complicity. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1689.

Hooper conveys distress and sorrow. Depiction of a witness to Edmund Bonner’s flagellation of a bare-bottomed martyr at Fulham Palace (Figure 44) invokes an iconographical feature found in German visual satire, which gives a visual representation of “‘looking through their fingers,’ a proverbial expression for ignoring what is plainly obvious.”¹²⁹ It may be that this intermingling of complicity and shame suggests a model for the audience “to adopt an explicitly Protestant gaze” that simultaneously recognizes and rejects Catholic persecution.¹³⁰ The commonplace presence

¹²⁹ Scribner, “For the Sake of Simple Folk,” p. 55.

¹³⁰ Thomas Betteridge, “The Place of Sodomy in the Historical Writings of John Bale and John Foxe,” in *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 19. See also L&I, STC 11222/51.

of a friar or monk who points malignantly toward a suffering martyr (e.g., Figure 37) is a visual representation of a powerful strain of anti-fraternal prejudice. Among sympathetic observers, a similar gesture can function equally well as a sign of empathy.

Woodcuts of this kind draw on the universal significance of the forefinger as “the busiest digit in the language of gestures,” which functions as “the human ‘pointer’” that indicates direction in many different contexts.¹³¹ The universal deictic significance of the pointing finger (Figures 36–38) is so obvious that readers commonly used the manicule (☛) in order to call attention to important textual passages. This notational symbol functions as an indicator of special emphasis in the margins of manuscripts and printed books.¹³² Its force was equivalent to that of *nota bene* or *N. B.* The derivation of *index* from *indicare*, the Latin verb for “to indicate,” captures the semiological significance of the pointing finger. Indeed, the meanings of *index* in Latin include “forefinger,” “informer,” and “sign.” The use of this word to denote the alphabetical listing of names and subjects, which typically appears at the end of a book, may reflect the fact that readers used their forefingers in locating particular passages. In the illumination of late medieval manuscripts, furthermore, the pointing finger may function as a “sign of acoustical performance, the speaking subject, or . . . a neat way of expressing the oral witness within the written text.”¹³³ This appears to be the case in the portrayal of Robert Smith, who points at a Bible passage with one finger as he waves the other in the air (Figure 35). He appears to join his fellow prisoners in discussing a Bible reading to which he points.

The burning of hands constitutes a gestural variation in which this appendage functions as a visual synecdoche for the forthcoming incineration of the martyr's body. This is the case in one of the most emotionally affective woodcuts in the collection, which portrays Edmund Tyrrell's apprehension of Rose Allin as she faithfully brings a pitcher of water for her mother, who lies sick in bed. In punishment for the young woman's rejoinder that she is willing to burn at the stake “for my Christes sake, if so I be compelled,” this hunter of heretics holds a “burning candell under her hand, burning crosse wise over the backe thereof, so long till the very sinnowes crackt asunder.” Framed by a window, an inset scene represents

¹³¹ Desmond Morris, *Bodywatching: A Field Guide to the Human Species* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985), p. 155.

¹³² See Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 61.

¹³³ Camille, “Seeing and Reading,” p. 28.

the next stage in a temporal sequence that culminates in the death of Rose Allin and her parents when they are burnt at the stake.¹³⁴

In another instance, we see Thomas Bilney testing his resolve “the night before he suffred martirdom, at what time he did hold his finger (in y^e prison at yeld hall) after twise proving so long in the flame, y^t he burnt of the fyrste joynt” (Figure 20). In response to a question from his fellow prisoner, whom we see lying in bed, he explained that by “trying my flesh by Gods grace, and burninge one joynt” he was preparing for the morrow, when “Gods rods shall burn the hole body in the fire.” This story undergoes embellishment in the 1570 version, which indicates that he quoted from Isaiah 43:1–3 in order to explain his conviction that divine grace would render him invulnerable to pain: “Feare not, for I have redemed thee . . . When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee: for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israell.”¹³⁵ In this self-reflexive image, the radiance of the flame provides an iconographical correspondence to the Bible from which the martyr reads. The profound aura of the candle flame mirrors the radiance of the Tetragrammaton in the inset at the lower left of the title-page border (Figure 2). This scene furthermore recalls the iconography of a woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger, which alludes to Matthew 5:15: “When a lamp is lit, it is not put under the metal-tub, but on the lamp-stand, where it gives light to everyone in the house.” This theme dominates the artist’s portrayal of Christ as the “light of the world” who points at a burning candle symbolic of “the Reformation rediscovery of the Word.”¹³⁶

Variations of this motif are notable in woodcuts that feature the burning of the hands of martyrs who stand in flames. It would seem difficult to redouble the intensity of suffering of one who undergoes immolation, but the woodcut of William Flower accomplishes this feat. With flames licking at his body, he holds aloft a stump from which blood gushes following the severing of his hand. A nearby attendant flourishes this member at the end of a pike. The text explains that Flower’s left hand continued to hold up his stricken arm as a testimonial to his religious faith even after he lost the power of speech. This scenario recalls the burning of William Gardiner, who bleeds from dismembered stumps during his auto-da-fé (Figure 36). His martyrology recounts how his Portuguese tormenters “cutte off[f] hys

¹³⁴ 1563, p. 1706; 1570, pp. 2199–2200; L&I, *STC* 11222/52.

¹³⁵ 1563, Uu7^v-8^r; 1570, p. 1151; L&I, *STC* 11222/15.

¹³⁶ Scribner, “*For the Sake of Simple Folk*,” p. 46 (fig. 33).

righte hande, whiche he taking up with his left hande, kissed . . . his other hande also was cutte off[f], whiche he kneling downe uppon the grounde, also kissed.”¹³⁷ One early modern reader puzzled over the complicated dynamics of Gardiner's execution in this handwritten notation: “if tied by ye Middle His Head must have Bent down. unless another rope held his Neck as this Picture seems to show.”¹³⁸

The conflict between “true” and “false” churches similarly informs the portrayal of the burning of Thomas Cranmer in the town ditch surrounding Oxford.¹³⁹ This scene features antithetical figures of two churchmen who stretch forth their hands. In making a gesture of approval to an attendant who is igniting the pyre, the arm of a Spanish friar parallels the archbishop's thrusting of his writing hand into the flames as he repeatedly utters the dying words of St. Stephen: “Lord Receive my spirit.” The printed text of Cranmer's final prayer explains this dramatic gesture as a sign of atonement for having affixed his signature to a recantation that he now retracts: “And for as much as my hande offended, wrytyng contrarie to my harte, my hande shal first be punyshed therefore. for maye I come to the fyre, it shalbe first burned.” The narrative recounts how he stretched out his arm in order to “put his right hand in y^e flame, which he held so stedfast and immovable” that all onlookers “might see his hand burned before his body was touched.”¹⁴⁰

We encounter a final instance of the motif of hand burning in one of several woodcuts that direct especial animus against Edmund Bonner because of the zeal with which he persecuted Protestants in the diocese of London. These pictures include the aforementioned scene in which Bonner administers a whipping (Figure 44). The second woodcut portrays the scowling bishop in the act of torturing Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, by holding his hand above a burning candle (Figure 45).¹⁴¹ An attendant averts his eyes from a scene in which Tomkins accepts this punishment as a symbolic foretaste of the flames that will consume him at Smithfield. The written text follows convention in claiming that the martyr's faith enables him to withstand torment: “In the tyme that hys hand was in burnyng, the sayd Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt up, that he felt no payne.” This informant reports that the victim's fortitude was such that the archdeacon of the diocese of London, John

¹³⁷ 1563, p. 878.

¹³⁸ 1583, Brasenose College, Oxford, Lath. R.4.3, p. 1366

¹³⁹ Reproduced in Diehl, *Staging Reform*, fig. 15.

¹⁴⁰ 1563, pp. 1501–1502; L&I, *STC* 11222/44.

¹⁴¹ 1563, p.1101; L&I, *STC* 12222/28. See also *JFHW*, fig. 15.2.

Harpsfield, attempted to intercede when, “moved with pity, [he] desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tryed hym inough.”¹⁴² An invective poem in Latin and English affords a satirical commentary on this scene in the manner of an illustrated broadside ballad:

Muse not so much, that natures woorke
 is thus deformed now,
 With belly blowen, and head so swolne,
 for I shall tel you how:
 This Cannibal in three yeares space
 three hundred Martirs slew:
 They were his food, he loved so blood,
 he spared none he knew.

It should appeare that blood feedes fat,
 if men lye well and soft:
 For Boners belly waxt with blood,
 though he semde to fast oft.
 O bloody beast bewayle the death,
 of those that thou hast slayne:
 In tyme repent, synce thou canst not
 theyr lyves restore agayne.¹⁴³

These verses are appropriate to a stout prelate who wears undergarments with a turgid codpiece as he whips a naked man (Figure 44). His phallicism suggests homoerotic desire of the kind that John Bale and other Protestant polemicists associated with both the “carnality” of the Church of Rome and the way in which the vow of celibacy encouraged an array of non-marital forms of sexual behavior. Bonner’s dishabille is unique in portrayals of early modern English churchmen. The tonsure, shaven face, and bodily disorder of the sadistic bishop suggest effeminacy in line with early modern constructions of gender. After all, men were expected to keep their bodies under rational control. Beardedness was a mark of masculinity visible in most portrayals of sixteenth-century Protestant ministers. This carnivalesque woodcut instead provides a profoundly anti-sacerdotal portrayal of an unbishoply bishop who looks like a dirty, sweaty, and licentious laborer.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² 1570, pp. 1710–11. ¹⁴³ 1563, pp. 1689–90.

¹⁴⁴ Deborah Burks, “Polemical Potency: The Witness of Word and Woodcut,” in *JFHW*, p. 273; fig. 15.1; Betteridge, “Place of Sodomy,” pp. 17–20.

E. Responses of viewers

How did members of the audience respond to the woodcuts that John Day commissioned for the *Book of Martyrs*? Although we may draw inferences concerning his collaboration with Foxe on the program of illustration, we are forced to glean meager shreds of information about the reactions of viewers from anecdotes, handwritten inscriptions, and physical evidence concerning the use of copies. Marks in books document responses from readers at all levels of the literacy hierarchy and at different points along the shifting ideological spectrum of early modern England. For example, many viewers shared the views of an eighteenth-century reader whose handwritten imprecation expresses crude approval of the iconoclastic sentiments of the tripartite woodcut that portrays the Edwardian Reformation (Figure 23): “the devil will have the papist[s] here is the fine ship.” The same reader enters a crude abjuration against Roman Catholics who are packing bags of “trinkets” out of the church at the upper left: “the devil tauke [i.e., take] you.”¹⁴⁵ In other cases, however, readers inscribed sophisticated responses in English, Latin, or even Greek.

It should come as no surprise to learn that the book's stridently anti-Catholic woodcuts engendered a substantial printed rejoinder from the Jesuit propagandist, Robert Parsons. He directs particular scorn toward the antipapal caricatures, notably the “ample and triumphant pageant” condoned in the aforementioned inscription. Directing vociferous attack on the legality of instituting changes in religion during a royal minority, he derides the portrayal of Edward VI delivering the Bible to the prelates at the lower left of this illustration: “As though the Bible had taken authority from the Childs deliveringe. Who beinge so tender of age as he was, (and of likelihood scarce able to read the same, and much lesse to understand yt) as well he might have delivered them the poeme of *Chaucer*, or the story of *Guy of Werwicke*, or of *Bevis of Southampton*.” In addition to asserting that gullible Protestants are taken in by unsophisticated fictions, Parsons attacks “other pageants in the same page,” notably the

great shipp, paynted [i.e., depicted] with men, women, & Children, carrying their Church stuffe into that shipp: to wit bells, books, images, and candles: and amongst other things also, the blessed Sacrament. And over the shipp is written thus: *The shipp of the Romish Church*. And on the side this sentence: *Shipp over*

¹⁴⁵ OSU BR1600 .F6 1583, copy 1, p. 1294.

your trinketts, and be packing, yow papists. And thus is John Foxe his pleasant [i.e., ridiculous] head delighted with these fancies. But who seeth not, how childish this folly is. Seinge scarce six yeares after this triumph, when *Queene Mary* came in, a man might have said to him agayne, & his fellowes: *Shipp over your trinketts, and be packing yow protestants* . . . in the Roman shipp was carryed away, not only the blessed sacrament, as Foxe saith, and paynteth it out (which yet is the highest & most pretious treasure, that Christ hath left to Christians upon earth:) but with that also all kind of vertue, & honesty for the most part.¹⁴⁶

Parsons ridicules other antipapal cartoons, notably the portrayal of the enthroned figure of Henry VIII planting his feet on the back of Clement VII (Figure 43). This attack assumes that familiarity with the woodcut, which serves as a frontispiece to the second volume of the *Book of Martyrs* beginning with the 1583 version, was widespread. Indeed, Christopher Marlowe acknowledges public familiarity with this tableau when he models Tamburlaine's debasement of Bajazeth on the same picture. The manner in which the victorious conqueror plants his feet on the back of the Turkish Sultan, who kneels before him in the manner of a "footstool," replicates the scenario in this woodcut.¹⁴⁷ Parsons had good reason, therefore, for assuming that readers would understand his description of the adherents of the fallen pope: "Wherat many friars are painted staringe and gazinge and wepinge round about, and *Bishop Fisher* and *Syr Thomas More* pitifully also weepinge, and stoopinge downe to help him upp againe." Given the absence of a caption, the identification of More, who shared Fisher's fate when they were executed in 1535 because of their opposition to the Henrician Reformation, is inferential. Reflecting on the Protestant emblem of the Sword and the Book, Parsons observes that King Henry "is painted with the Ghospell in his lapp," despite the strict identification of this book with the Act of Supremacy:

And I would aske the seely fellow heere, how King *Henry*, though he brake with *Pope Clement*, upon some matters of displeasure (as is notorious) and refused to yeld him spirituall obedience in England (as he and his ancestors had done ever before:) yet how could he justly, or truly be said to have cast him downe with his [triple] crowne, & crosse, as heere in painted? Seinge that *Pope Clement* his authority, power, and spirituall jurisdiction, throughout the Christian world was no lesse after *King Henryes* breach, then before.

¹⁴⁶ Parsons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, 1.579–81.

¹⁴⁷ William J. Brown, "Marlowe's Debasement of Bajazet: Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine*, Part I," *Renaissance Quarterly* 24 (1971), pp. 38–48.

The Jesuit propagandist articulates sarcastic praise that reflects careful study of the iconographical program of the *Book of Martyrs*:

Further, I would aske this *John Deviser* [i.e., fabricator], that devised this wise representation: how could *King Henryes* sword be said to be in defence of the Protestants Ghospell, when, by their owne affirmation, he was the greatest persecutor of their brethren that ever was King of England, from the beginning of that monarchy to his dayes?¹⁴⁸

At the opposite extreme from these sharp retorts from a sophisticated Catholic reader is a report by Sir John Harington, who claims that someone showed Edmund Bonner “his own picture in the booke of Martirs in the first edicion, of purpose to vex him, at which he laught, saying a vengeance of the foole, how could he get my picture drawne so right?” The half-century lag between portrayal of the event and this anecdote suggests that it may be apocryphal, but it does accord with Bonner’s contemporary reputation for having a sardonic temperament.¹⁴⁹

If the deprived Bishop of London did indeed acknowledge the accuracy of his portrayal with this witty rejoinder, he must have seen a copy as he languished in prison. This is not inconceivable, because Elizabethan evangelists were known to have entered prisons in order to engage in disputation with imprisoned recusants. An antagonist might readily have displayed an open copy of Foxe’s martyrological history at Fleet Prison, where Bonner died of natural causes in 1569. Nicholas Harpsfield attacked the *Book of Martyrs* in *Dialogi Sex* (1566), which he wrote during incarceration at the same prison (see Chapter 4.B).

The inspection of multiple copies of the *Book of Martyrs* reveals that illustrated openings were generally subject to a much higher degree of wear-and-tear than those without woodcuts. The presence of woodcuts often led to the loss of pages due to excision or being worn to pieces through heavy use.¹⁵⁰ A disproportionately large number of illustrated openings have faded or undergone degradation due to exposure to light, dust, sulphur, and other substances. Factors of this kind cause many volumes to open naturally at openings with woodcuts. The thinner and grimier nature of these leaves, which are often creased and frayed, suggests that they attracted heavy use from readers and other individuals who gazed on the spectacular

¹⁴⁸ Parsons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, 1.548–50.

¹⁴⁹ Harington, *A Supplie or Addition to the Catalogue of Bishops to the Yeare 1608*, ed. R. H. Miller (Potomac, MD: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1979), pp. 45–46.

¹⁵⁰ OSU BR1600 .F6 1576, copy 3, is not the only copy that has had every woodcut illustration systematically removed via excision or removal of entire pages.

pictures at lecterns in churches or other places. The breaking down of linen fibers due to continual handling gives these pages a limp feeling. The gutters of illustrated openings attracted most of the detritus in these volumes. The presence of candle wax suggests that the spectacular pictures provided both edification and entertainment when people looked on them during evenings. A sizable glob of wax on the recto page of an illustrated opening of one copy shows that someone peered over the image with a candle, presumably one held in the right hand.¹⁵¹ Illustrated pages also attracted dirt and staining by fluids. The adherence of bits of food, nutshells, and wax indicates that viewers would enjoy snacks as they pored over the pictures. In the case of the copy displayed for public reading at the George Inn at Norwich,¹⁵² we may wonder whether the drinking of ale accompanied viewing of pictures. The likely use of copies of the “Table of the X. first Persecutions” for interior decoration suggests that illustrated leaves might have undergone removal for hanging on walls. A similar use may account for the frequent absence of fold-outs such as the woodcuts of the poisoning of King John and the execution of Latimer and Ridley.¹⁵³

Some viewers defaced pictures of persecutors. For example, the face of Edmund Bonner was stabbed out in the two woodcuts that portray him in flagellating a man in the orchard of Fulham Palace¹⁵⁴ and in the act of burning the hand of Thomas Tomkins (Figure 45). We may infer that this damage was deliberate because these isolated bits of paper are missing from otherwise intact leaves in two different copies. In each case, the preceding and ensuing leaves have suffered no damage. It may be that these caustic caricatures of Bonner’s sadistic pursuit of his victims induced zealous readers to stab out his face. Damage of this kind appears not to be isolated, because the face of a pope is gouged out in a woodcut in which an emperor kisses his feet.¹⁵⁵ In a similar way, the faces of a Spanish friar and various attendants are defaced with pen strokes in a woodcut that portrays the execution of Nicholas Burton.¹⁵⁶ Damage of this kind recalls the mutilation of the Denchworth copy of *The Golden Legend* by an iconoclastic reader who objected to its “idolatrous” application of religious pictures. A comparable instance of defacement is present in a picture of

¹⁵¹ OSU BR1600 .F6 1596b, copy 2, p. 947. ¹⁵² See pp. 283–84, below.

¹⁵³ I am indebted to Harry Campbell, head of book conservation at OSU, who has shared observations based on his examination and repair of disbound leaves of copies of *A&M* prior to their rebinding.

¹⁵⁴ 1563, Brasenose College, Lath. R.3.1, p. 1689.

¹⁵⁵ OSU BR1600 .F6 1570, copy 1, 2N2^v.

¹⁵⁶ OSU BR1600 .F6 1596b, copy 1, p. 1865.



45. Xylographic lettering identifies Edmund Bonner as he tortures Thomas Tomkins, a condemned heretic, by burning his hand with the flame of a candle. An attendant averts his eyes in apparent disapproval. It appears that a reader has mutilated this caricature by stabbing out the bishop's face. Compare Figures 20 and 44. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1101.

the Blessed Virgin Mary in a 1490s copy of *Hore beate Marie*. Mutilation of her face is confined to a single leaf, because the preceding and following leaves remain intact (Figure 46).¹⁵⁷ If this damage constitutes an example of carefully circumscribed iconoclastic attack, the result is comparable to damage inflicted on stained glass windows from which iconoclasts have removed the faces, as opposed to the bodies, of traditional saints. Symbolic decapitation, rather than destruction of the entire image, was sufficient to extirpate “idolatry.”¹⁵⁸

Illustrations in other copies of the *Book of Martyrs* exemplify a range of non-literate responses that includes the bright coloration of the

¹⁵⁷ OSU BX2080 .A3 S3, L8^f. Sir John Oldcastle effaced the heads of saints in illustrated manuscripts in his library according to Miller Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 20.

¹⁵⁸ John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), figs. 16, 19, 38.



46. Printed text from the following leaf shows through the stabbed-out face of the Virgin Mary in this illustration for the Hour for the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in *Hore beate Marie* (Paris, after 1503), OSU BX2080.A3.S3, fol. 72^r. Defacement of Mary's image is presumably the result of attack by an iconoclastic Protestant.

woodcuts in two copies of the 1570 version. A copy preserved at Cambridge University Library¹⁵⁹ bears no marks of ownership, but its decoration suggests some similarities with another copy decorated for the

¹⁵⁹ Shelf mark K*.7.15-(A). For a reproduction, see Thomas Betteridge, "Truth and History in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," in *JFHW*, p. 145 and frontispiece.

personal library of Archbishop Matthew Parker. These similarities suggest that Parker may have commissioned the decoration of both copies. The second copy bears the archbishop's coat of arms on the bindings and the fore-edges.¹⁶⁰ It was donated to Trinity College, Cambridge, by Thomas Neville, who served as its Master from 1593 until 1615. His brother, Alexander, had served as secretary to Archbishop Parker. The flyleaf of this copy contains inscriptions concerning the martyrdom of St. Cyprian that appear to be in Parker's own hand.¹⁶¹ The gaudy coloration of the title page, woodcuts, and most initial capitals accords with the style of decoration that found favor with the archbishop. These illuminated pictures are quite similar in coloration to the woodcuts in a unique copy of *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, which John Day published in 1569.¹⁶² This copy of a book also known as "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book" may well have been a volume that Parker gave to Elizabeth I. A note on the flyleaf indicates that she owned this book, which remained in the library at Whitehall Palace until the mid-seventeenth century. Only this unique copy contains prayers on behalf of the queen that were altered in press from the third to the first person (G3^{r-v} and I1^{r-v}). Day printed other books on behalf of Parker.

Archbishop Parker maintained a personal bindery and studio of artists at Lambeth Palace. He describes his atelier thus in a letter of 9 May 1573 to William Cecil: "I have within my house in wagis [i.e., wages], drawers & cutters, paynters, lymners, wryters, and boke bynders."¹⁶³ This missive concerns a gift copy of Parker's own book, *De antiquitate Britannicae* (printed by John Day in 1572), which contains hand-colored coats of arms of British archbishops and bishops. Kindred illumination exists in two other presentation copies of this book. Parker gave one to John Lumley, first Baron Lumley.¹⁶⁴ The second is a copy given to Elizabeth I, which is exquisitely bound in embroidered green velvet covers.¹⁶⁵ It contains a hand-colored title page printed on vellum in the style of the most munificent presentation copies.

¹⁶⁰ Trinity College Library, C.17.24–25.

¹⁶¹ For comparable instances of Parker's handwriting, see BL MS Add. 19398, fols. 58–59, 63.

¹⁶² Lambeth Palace Library, (ZZ)1569.6. STC 6428. Misattributed to Richard Day, but possibly compiled by John Day.

¹⁶³ BL MS Lansdowne 17, fol. 63^r.

¹⁶⁴ BL C.24.b.7.

¹⁶⁵ BL C.24.b.8. For a reproduction of the cover of this copy, see Lisa Klein, "Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), fig. 1.

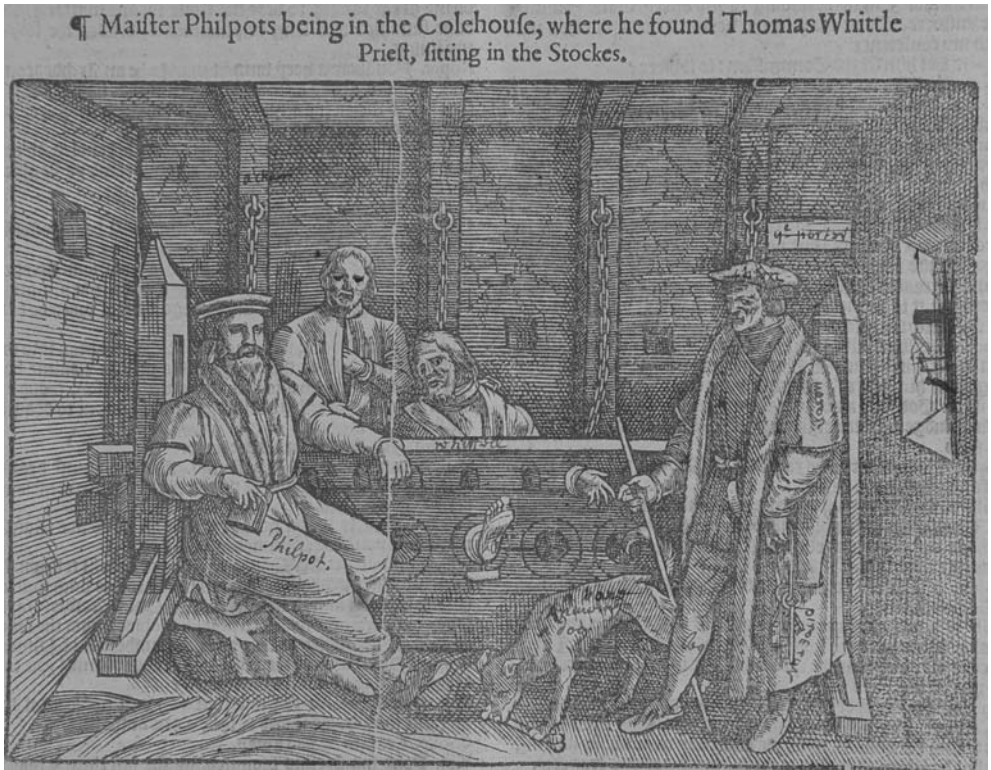
Other copies of the *Book of Martyrs* contain an idiosyncratic range of responses. A drawing inked into the margin of a copy of the second edition provides a likeness of the face of Dr. Henry Cole, Provost of Eton, as he preaches at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, during the interrogation of Thomas Cranmer.¹⁶⁶ Many leaves in other copies contain practice strokes, doodling, the inking-in of bodies or clothing, scribbling, alphabets in childish hands, and autograph signatures. Pen strokes on a woodcut of William Gardiner's execution represent blood as it spurts from the stumps of hands (Figure 36). In a badly damaged copy of the 1596 version, inked-in blood drips onto the stairs of a scaffold that bears the corpse of a decapitated victim.¹⁶⁷ The same copy exemplifies an array of non-literate responses such as the drawing of a flag atop the towers of a building (p. 727). In the woodcut of Henry VIII, someone has colored in his necklace of the Order of the Garter and drawn strokes on his beard (p. 731). The Red Ensign atop Windsor Castle (pp. 1104–1105) might date the interval during which someone drew it in because this flag was the official British standard from 1674 to 1707. A caption written onto the woodcut of the execution of Anne Askew identifies the church in the background as "S. Bartholomew" (p. 1130). A notation on this woodcut in a copy of the 1583 version demonstrates considerable naiveté in its anachronistic misidentification of the scene, in which the reader sees "people burning," as the "Gunpowder treason" of 1605.¹⁶⁸

In addition to non-literate or marginally literate markings of this kind, other copies contain more or less sophisticated inscriptions. The coexistence of varied responses provides further support for the view that these pictures were accessible to a multi-tiered audience that ranged from *literati* to *illiterati* to wholly unlettered individuals. One reader attends to the narrative concerning John Philpot's imprisonment in the coal house at the London residence of the Bishop of London by inserting inscriptions that identify him and Thomas Whittle, whom he encounters languishing in stocks (Figure 47). Writing identifies the standing figure of the attendant both by name ("Mason") and by his occupation as "y^e porter" via wording in a blank tablet that invites inscription. Other handwritten inscriptions add a seriocomic twist by identifying Mason's "thigh," "shoe," and "leg" next to "a dog gnawing a bone." Written on Mason's hat, the word "chain" identifies the chain above his head. The meaning of the inscription on

¹⁶⁶ OSU BR1600 .F6 1570, copy 1, p. 2065.

¹⁶⁷ OSU BR1600 .F6 1596, copy 2, p. 810.

¹⁶⁸ OSU BR1600 .F6 1583, copy 1, p. 1240.



47. Handwritten inscriptions identify John Philpot and Thomas Whittle, who is restrained by stocks, at the coal house used as a makeshift prison at the residence of the Bishop of London within the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral. Chains hang from the wall and bars secure the window. The book in Philpot's hand, which symbolizes the Bible or New Testament, constitutes an unrealistic detail because a jailer whom a reader identifies as "Mason" and his colleagues attempted to confiscate the condemned martyr's reading and writing materials. Yet another inscription identifies "a dog gnawing a bone" if it is read from bottom to top. A fissure ran from top to bottom of the well-worn wooden block used in printing this picture. *Book of Martyrs* (1596), OSU BR1600.F6 1596, copy 2, p. 1632.

Mason's leg is mysterious. It is conceivable that the keys in his hands might remind some viewers of the pope's traditional keys of office. The Bible in Philpot's hand functions as an emblem for religious faith, inspiration, and scriptural knowledge.¹⁶⁹

An early reader with a higher degree of literacy devoted attention to an opening in the same copy that contains a woodcut of the execution of Rowland Taylor. In calling attention to "a good meditation" facing this picture, marginal dipters reveal that this reader digested the account of the

¹⁶⁹ OSU BR1600 .F6 1596, copy 2, p. 1632. Pictures in other copies bear similar handwritten captions (e.g., OSU BR1600 .F6 1583, copy 1, pp. 2047, 2052).

martyrdom of the minister at the town of Hadleigh with considerable care (pp. 1386–87). An impassioned reader has interactively inscribed Taylor’s shoulder with consolatory words: “courage, courage.” The same individual has identified the rider of a horse as “a rogue.” Beneath the feet of the same horse, a reader literate in Greek has inscribed a contracted form of the following words: “Hosannah / τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ.” Combining scriptural formulae for acclamations of divine praise, this inscription declares “Hosannah to God in the highest.” It demonstrates knowledge of the Septuagint or of a passage in the Greek New Testament that appropriates a phrase from the Septuagint. The last inscription in this woodcut functions as a reminder that blank banderoles invited attention from readers who believed that martyrological pictures were incomplete without final speeches. In apparent conformity with the intention of the designer, the reader associates an empty framing device with the mounted man who makes a hand gesture. The annotator therefore understood the printed speech of Rowland Taylor *in extremis* – “Merciful Father for Jesus’ sake, receive my soul” – as a testimonial of faith that rejects the handwritten appeal for abjuration attributed to his persecutor: “Recant, then recant.”

The variability of speeches inscribed into empty banderoles indicates that these spaces provided sites into which early readers channeled highly emotional responses to these affective woodcuts. Writers filled these framing devices with wording appropriate to the martyrs, with whom they apparently identified themselves. The absence of a textual foundation for these highly variable speeches indicates that historical accuracy was less important to readers who engaged in a participatory reading of woodcuts than their conviction that a “good death” is incomplete without dying words. By inscribing the final prayer of St. Stephen into banderoles, many readers responded along lines compatible with the intentions of the planners, whose typesettings attribute the same dying words to many victims. An inscription on a woodcut portrayal of the execution of Lawrence Saunders accordingly attributes the words of St. Stephen to this martyr: “o lord resìve my soule” (Figure 48). It is noteworthy that this inscription represents a departure from a drop-in typesetting set within the banderole of the same woodcut in a later edition: “Welcome life.”¹⁷⁰ A more pugnacious reader has Rowland Taylor voice an attack on “Bloody Papists” by filling in a blank banderole in the woodcut portrayal of his death.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ OSU BR1600 .F6 1570, copy 1, p. 1670.

¹⁷¹ 1570, Brasenose College, Lath. R.4.2, p. 1703.



48. According to a reader who inscribed an empty banderole in this woodcut, Laurence Saunders exclaimed “o lord resiꝰe my soule” when he was burnt alive. This conventional utterance styles him as a latter-day St. Stephen, the Christian proto-martyr. *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1048.

We encounter a final mode of reader response in extended inscriptions that augment the interchange between text and image, rather than point out its intrinsic components or insert wording into banderoles. The illustrated account of the execution of Cicely Ormes thus drew the approval of one reader, who provided this judgment:

This in Treule [i.e., truly]
Coated in a Sermon
y^t Said Shee spoke
as one that well
understood the Gospell¹⁷²

Even more interesting is a marginal inscription beneath the woodcut of Robert Smith and his companions (Figure 35). An early reader wrote verses in by hand as an adjunct to an accompanying epistolary poem,

¹⁷² OSU BR1600 .F6 1641, copy 1, 3.853.

which Foxe incorporates at the end of the 1563 version of Smith's martyrology.¹⁷³ By offering the consolatory assurance that martyrdom will lead to everlasting life ("death is no death but a meanes to live"), this inscription exemplifies an eloquent variation of the familiar response of readers who inserted brief tags from conventional speeches into empty banderoles. This reader goes beyond all others whom we have encountered in satisfying the expectation that these martyrological woodcuts undergo completion through the addition of memorable dying words.

Marginal inscriptions entered by generations of early modern readers demonstrate how an iconoclastic habit of mind need not necessitate iconophobia. Handwritten notes indicate that early readers were receptive to the heavy illustration that constituted one of the most distinctive, memorable, and well-received features of the folio editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. Despite the hostility of the compiler and original publisher to the ritualistic use of images in worship, they adapted or transformed preexisting conventions and techniques found in books of hours, lives of the saints, and other texts associated with the Church of Rome. As the one who reused old wooden blocks or commissioned and underwrote the cutting of new ones, John Day was a crucial figure in the process of illustration. In this endeavor, he drew on his long experience as publisher of high-quality illustrated books. The influence of foreign models is apparent in woodcuts reminiscent of antipapal visual propaganda published in Germany and the Low Countries. Day collaborated with Foxe in programming a coherent pattern of illustration based on both small non-narrative scenes, which undergo more or less frequent reuse in the portrayal of different scenes of martyrdom, and narrative woodcuts, both small and large, which function as tailor-made illustrations for martyrdoms and other events on which he and Foxe placed great stress. Distinctive details such as the portrayal of preachers in the act of delivering sermons from pulpits, hand gestures, the burning of hands or fingers, and the isolation of martyrdoms within encircling crowds of observers contribute to a network of motifs that recur within the *Book of Martyrs* and link its pictures to those in other books published by Day. Type settings dropped into banderoles brought great stress to bear on the final speeches of martyrs. The handwritten inscription of formulaic utterances within empty framing devices demonstrates that early readers regarded the delivery of last words as an integral feature of scenes of

¹⁷³ For a transcription, See p. 296, below.

martyrdom. Responses to the pictures ranged from the highly literate critique of Robert Parsons to the amused recollection of Sir John Harington. Reactions included barely literate imprecations as well as possibly illiterate doodling and augmentation of pictures with pen strokes and inking-in of pictures. The illustration of Foxe's book represents an important point in the circuit of communication in which hearing and seeing by both literate and illiterate members of the audience corresponds to reading or recitation of text by those who could read.

The expectations of readers of differing religious beliefs, social status, and gender molded the reception of the *Book of Martyrs*. They interpreted its highly variable and malleable text in radically different ways that tracked the full range of the religio-political spectrum of early modern England. Changing habits and practices of different categories of readers had an important impact on the passage through the printing house of the many hand-press editions. Readership expectations are most immediately evident at the level of typography, in which the choreography of italic, roman, and black-letter founts addressed the changing requirements of a stratified audience comprised of *literati* and *illiterati* during an era that spanned the abandonment of black letter in favor of roman type. Manipulation of reading practices played an important role, furthermore, in the shared endeavor of John Day and John Foxe in generating a pictorial program accessible even to illiterate individuals who were unable to read the text for themselves.

In collaboration with his associates, Foxe sets forth his own ideas about reading in an elaborate array of prefaces, both in Latin and in English, in other forms of paratext including marginal glosses, and in comments within the body of the text (see Chapter 1.E). For example, he invites members of the reading public to join in the assessment of evidence by interrogating reputed miracles (“Whereof let every reader use hys owne judgment”) or visions (“This only which hath out of the mans owne mouth bene receaved, so as I receaved it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge therof as God shall rule his minde”).¹ The very care with which he and his associates frame the printed text accords with the unease experienced by Protestant and Catholic authorities concerning uncontrolled interpretation of the vernacular Bible. Not only did these ancillary materials encourage a “transactional hermeneutic” whereby readers could acquire skill and understanding sufficient to interpret texts, but they also identified particular reading practices with

¹ 1570, pp. 131, 2230.

membership in a “group of elect believers.”² Other evidence sheds light both on the producers’ expectations and the reception of the *Book of Martyrs* by different categories of readers. Ways in which this book continued to grow and develop after the deaths of Foxe and Day provide insight into the demands, either perceived or actual, of generations of readers. Investigation of abridgments of this massive book also clarifies ways in which readers approached its heterogeneous array of documents.

A. Addresses to readers

Even though Foxe provides a set of prescriptive “rules” for reading in the prefaces of the *Book of Martyrs*, it is difficult to glean information about the degree to which readers mastered its texts in line with his expectations.³ The preliminary pages of the first edition contain a lavish array of prefaces, but the compiler replaced all but one of them in the 1570 version. He added another preface in 1583. Concerned throughout with reading practices, these addresses differentiate among readers in terms of status, learning, and religious conviction. They distinguish between “true” and “false” readers along doctrinal lines. His 1570 prefaces acknowledge that he has revised the text in response to criticism lodged by both Protestant and Roman Catholic readers. Controversy centered not only on theological doctrine, but also on the nature of martyrdom and the calendar of saints.

Addressed to individuals with superior status and learning, prefaces in the first edition afford a rationale for publishing the *Book of Martyrs* in English rather than Latin. *Ad Dominum Jesum Christum* (“To the Lord Jesus Christ”) opens with a dedication of both the book and its compiler to Jesus Christ. Offering this address largely in the first person plural, Foxe identifies himself not with the *illiterati*, who were incapable of reading it, but with Latin-literate Protestants whose numbers must have included many who shared the compiler’s ministerial vocation. In *Ad doctum Lectorem* (“To the learned reader”), a second Latin address that responds to criticism that circulated prior to publication of the *Book of Martyrs*, the

² Susan Felch, “Shaping the Reader in the *Acts and Monuments*,” in *JFER*, p. 55.

³ Collinson, “John Foxe and National Consciousness,” pp. 16–18, citing p. 16. In revised and expanded form, the following discussion incorporates findings presented in John N. King, “Guides to Reading Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005), pp. 133–50.

compiler acknowledges that it has attracted “the hatred, catcalls, envy, and calumny of many men.” He notes that hostile readers will variously attack “the foundation of history,” “a structure in working,” “diligence or judgment in matters to be examined,” “the bulkiness of this work,” or “the rationale behind the arrangement of time.” Furthermore, he incorporates a refutation directed against Catholic readers who would find fault with “our *Golden Legend* (as they call it).” Lodging a direct attack on any claim that his martyrological history resembles this compendium of “fabulous” saints’ lives, he attacks credulous readers who accept the “lies and most ridiculous fictions in the martyrological legends and transcribed lives of saints . . . as true narratives” (B3^r-B4^r).

Headed by John Day’s elaborate historiated initial C, the dedicatory epistle then lodges a request for patronage from Elizabeth I as the foremost reader of this book (B1^r-B2^v; see Figure 31). Given the queen’s facility at classical and modern languages, however, the compiler’s use of the vernacular clearly indicates that he has a broader reading public in mind. Set by Day in an elegant italic fount, this address is geared to the monarch, to *literati*, and to sophisticated *illiterati*. In accordance with the familiar two-sidedness of epideictic rhetoric, Foxe intermingles praise with a prudential admonition that she succeeded to the throne not in her own right, but as a divine instrument expected to effect further religious reform. This oblique counsel addresses the anxieties of “godly” Protestants.⁴ We have no way of knowing whether the queen actually read this book, but it seems likely that she was aware of its publication under the patronage of her chief minister, William Cecil.

The final prefaces move down the readership hierarchy by addressing *illiterati* in the vernacular. Foxe’s differentiation between “true” and “false” readers reflects the binary division between the “persecuting” and “persecuted” churches so vividly portrayed on the title page (Figure 2). Entitled “To the Persecutors of Gods truth, commonlye called Papistes” (B4^v-5^v), Foxe’s frontal assault on “the pityfull slaughter of your butchery” seems unlikely to have converted hostile readers. It functions as a general introduction to the premises of the martyrological history at large, notably its rejection of *De heretico comburendo*, the 1401 statute that authorized the burning of heretics, and Roman Catholic “errors” including devotion to religious images and belief in pilgrimages and purgatory. The final preface, “A declaration concerning the utilitie and profite of thys history,” exemplifies Foxe’s defensiveness concerning his new-found commitment to

⁴ Betteridge, *Tudor Histories*, pp. 176–77.

the dissemination of Latin scholarship in the vernacular by offering a revised translation of “De Historiae huius utilitate et fructu,” an earlier version of which he had incorporated into *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum* in 1559. In the course of declaring the superiority of martyrological history over secular chronicles, Foxe explains that practicality has forced him to frame his book “in that tounge which the simple people could best understand” (1570, *3^r). Adopting a pose of affected modesty concerning whether this book will be sufficient to serve “the industry of the learners, the utility of the studious, and the delight of the learned,” the compiler acknowledges that readers are “delited with heroicall stories” (1563, B5^v-6^v). This awareness that martyrologies function as entertaining narratives is appropriate to an era when *story* and *history*, both of which derive from the French word *histoire*, lacked wholly distinct meanings.

In the second edition, Foxe joined Day in reconstructing the *Book of Martyrs* in ways designed to make it more accessible to vernacular readers (see Chapter 2.C.2). Carrying over only a single preface, which he retitled “To the True Christian reader, what utilitie is to be taken by readyng of these Histories,” he prepares the way for this searching revision with the outright elimination of the two Latin prefaces, *Ad Dominum Jesum Christum* and *Ad doctum Lectorem*, in addition to “To the Persecutors of Gods truth, commonlye called Papistes.” We ought not place too great emphasis on these deletions, because he or Day restores the latter preface in 1583. Although Day collaborated in the retention of the initial *C* in the 1570 version, Foxe substituted a wholly new dedication that reflects religious-political circumstances after a dozen years of governance by Elizabeth I. In place of his 1563 celebration of Elizabeth as a new Constantine, whose discontinuation of imperial persecution mirrored the cessation of Marian persecution, this new dedication begins with acclamation of Christ for placing her on the throne in the manner of “our peaceable Salome,” a variant spelling of Solomon (*1^r). Participating in the widespread praise of Queen Elizabeth as a new David or Solomon, Foxe likens her to the king who presided over the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem and governed Israel and Judah during a long reign of peace and prosperity. Devoting little attention to an appeal for patronage, he turns to readership practices when he acknowledges that compilation of this collection in the vernacular “serveth not so greatly for your owne peculiar [i.e., distinctive] reading, nor for such as be learned.” Instead he emphasizes his rationale for publishing the book in the English language for the sake of the common people: “Who, as they have bene long ledde in ignoraunce, and wrapt in blindnes for lacke specially of Gods word, & partly also for

wanting the light of history, pitie I thought but that such shuld be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicitie instructed" (*2^r). The compiler acknowledges that heavy criticism attendant on the failure of readers to understand the 1563 version has forced him to submit the text to a complete overhaul, rather than withdraw into the comfortable world of Latin scholarship: "I well hoped, that these my travailes in this kinde of writyng had bene well at an ende: wherby I might have returned my studies agayne to other purposes, after myne owne desire, more fit then to write histories, especially in the English tounge" (*1^r).

Foxe's binary distinction between "true" and "false" readers governs two prefaces newly added to the 1570 edition. Entitled "To the True and Faithfull Congregation of Christes universall Church" (☛2^r-4^v), the first one supplants an earlier preface, *Ad doctum Lectorem*, with the claim that the *Book of Martyrs* constitutes "a spiritual gift" addressed to elect readers of the vernacular.⁵ The compiler explains that he has added a massive amount of material to permit the "true" reader to reject the polemical charge that "the doctrine of the Church of Rome . . . was never impugned before the tyme of *Luther*." He instead claims that Protestant beliefs correspond to doctrines of the primitive church as opposed to the ever-increasing corruption of the papacy (☛4^r). It was to address this need that he undertook "vii. yeares traivale" in order to recast and expand the text, a task that he likens to King Solomon's "buildyng of the Lordes Temple (which he had vii. yeares in hand)." This conceit of the book as temple clarifies his reconceptualization of Elizabeth as a new Solomon, rather than a new Constantine. Furthermore, Foxe differentiates between "many well disposed readers" and "wicked" readers whose carping has given "triall in my former edition before." Applying a trope long associated with religious divisiveness, he compares the latter with "stingyng waspes & buszyng drones."⁶ The infusion of this preface with apocalyptic yearning for "the spedy comyng of Christ the spouse, to make an ende of all mortall miserie" (☛2^r) accords with "a movement from a prophetic to an apocalyptic perspective" between the 1563 and 1570 versions.⁷

Abandoning the 1563 address to Roman Catholic readers as persecutors, Foxe substitutes an interrogative preface entitled "To all the professed

⁵ Felch, "Shaping the Reader," p. 60.

⁶ On the trope of swarming wasps and bees, see Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ch. 4.

⁷ Betteridge, *Tudor Histories*, p. 187.

frendes and folowers of the Popes procedynges.” It ostensibly assumes that careful and unbiased reading of the book’s massive documentation will render readers amenable to polemical argument. Inviting hostile readers to enter into hermeneutical discourse by responding to a set of four questions concerning ecclesiastical history, he articulates the hope that thorough textual understanding would enable antagonistic readers to conclude, for example, that they are not in communion with the “true” church. In addition to questioning whether their hostility to Protestantism is grounded on neither “just cause nor deserving,” he poses questions concerning whether the two beasts described in Revelation 13 are types of the Church of Rome and the papacy, and whether “the Pope turneth the spirituall religion of Christ to a corporall religion” governed by the doctrine of good works (*4-¶1^r).

The preliminary pages conclude with a set of documents designed largely for the assistance of readers. They begin with a full-page list of sources that is designed to substantiate the textual authority of the *Book of Martyrs*. In place of the 1563 calendar, Foxe supplies a second page-long listing of “The names of the Martyrs in this booke contained.” At the end of this martyrological table, he and/or John Day demonstrates concern for the *illiterati*, yet again, by squeezing in a chart to aid “unlearned” readers in the conversion of roman numerals (“plaine Numbers”) to unfamiliar arabic numerals (¶2^r-3^r). Foxe then adds a cluster of untranslated Latin commendatory poems written by humanistic scholars within his circle of acquaintances (¶3^v-4^r). The writers include Laurence Humphrey, Abraham Hartwell, and Thomas Drant, the poet, but the identity of Rob. R. would have mystified most members of the reading public. In a final rejoinder to the “slaunders and sinister surmises” of those who accuse him of disseminating “hundredes and thousands of lyes” (☛2^r), Foxe adds not only a list of errata but also a concluding preface entitled “Certeine Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of thynges to be considered in readyng this story.” It provides discursive explanations of “escapes and oversights” that readers might otherwise regard as factual errors (¶4^v-5^r). With few exceptions, the preliminary pages remained intact in the third and fourth editions. Richard Day did add to the 1576 version a preface written by Samuel Fleming and tables of biblical texts expounded within the martyrological history. Foxe and/or John Day stripped these materials and the equally innovative analytical index from the fourth edition. Over and beyond the return of *Ad doctum Lectorem*, Foxe adds “Foure considerations geven out to Christian Protestantes” to the preliminary pages of the 1583

version (¶2^v). The binary distinction between “true” and “false” readers comes into play yet again in this final preface.⁸

B. Calendars of saints

Foxe introduces the incendiary issue of iconoclastic attack on the traditional cult of the saints in his 1563 preface, *Ad doctum Lectorem*. By framing his remarks in Latin, he addresses to learned readers his defense against the charge that he attempts to fabricate a new-style calendar of saints: “For I hear that not only silent opinions, but also open voices of some papists, who unjustly see this as being made up by me, shout against me that while I expunge ancient and old divines, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, I cram new martyrs and confessors in their place.” He lodges the counterclaim that he has “instituted this calendar for no other reason except for the index to approximately designate the month and year of a certain martyr to serve the private use of the reader” (B4^f). This argument conforms to the obituary pattern of the *Book of Martyrs*, whereby the compiler disregards strict chronology by gathering virtually all material related to particular martyrs at the dates on which they died. The reader accordingly encounters the description and woodcut portrayal of Hugh Latimer’s career as the leading preacher of Edwardian England (Figure 28) not within Foxe’s diachronic history of the reign of this king, but rather within the overall account of Latimer’s entire preaching career. Because its placement at the point of the preacher’s execution during the third year of the reign of Mary I does not accord with straightforward annalistic history, the entry in the calendar affords a useful finding aid.

If Foxe’s comment is to be believed, the calendar allows for conflation of two different models of discontinuous reading, as opposed to the arduous task of reading this mammoth text from beginning to end. This device nods toward the Catholic model of reading that follows the order of the liturgical calendar, albeit the simplified one retained in the Book of Common Prayer, at the same time that it invokes an indexical method that directs readers not to the mass of documents and non-narrative material in his book, but to individual stories of the martyrs.⁹ It seems

⁸ See Chapter 2.C.3–4 concerning the paratext added in 1576 and 1583.

⁹ See Peter Stallybrass, “Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible,” in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 47–49.

likely that many, if not most, readers would engage in discontinuous daily reading rather than continuous reading from the beginning to the end of the book or particular sections.

Memorializing martyrs on the dates when they were executed, the calendar corresponds to Foxe's text in its omission of almost all non-biblical saints, whose lives filled collections such as the *Golden Legend*. St. George retains a place on the ground that he is the patron saint of England. The calendar instead follows the Protestant calendar in the Book of Common Prayer by retaining selected Christian festivals, evangelists, and apostolic saints. Among the entries for January and February, for example, we see the Feast of the Circumcision, Epiphany, the Conversion of Paul, the Purification of Our Lady, and Matthew the Apostle (Figure 49).¹⁰ The two columns that precede the roster of names mirror those in the prayer book. The first designates Golden Numbers, which are based on the nineteen-year lunar cycle that determines the date of the movable feast of Easter. Its date provides the key to dating other movable feasts in the Christian year. The second column contains dominical letters, which designate the ordering of Sundays within particular years. The remaining column at the left-hand side indicates days of the month, whereas those to the right designate dates and years for the deaths of martyrs. In order to fill every day of the year, the designer of the calendar modifies the obituary organization of the *Book of Martyrs* by shifting readings to nearby dates on which martyrs failed to die. John Wilson, the compiler of a Jesuit calendar of saints entitled *The English Martyrologe* (1608), attests that he engages in the same process of shifting readings to empty days solely for the convenience of readers engaged in methodical, daily reading (see below).

It may be that inclusion of the calendar was John Day's idea. He might have exercised his prerogative as publisher by deciding to insert it and the ensuing "Almanacke for 31. yeares." Day's involvement would address the fact that entries in the calendar for traditional holy days and saints' days do not correspond to readings within the text. Despite the removal of the calendar from the 1570 and 1576 editions, it reappears in the fourth edition, possibly because the publisher reinserted it. Day may have included the almanac for a variety of reasons, including the simple convenience of readers.

Regardless of who was responsible for inclusion of the calendar and almanac, individuals would have found it easy to follow them in the

¹⁰ See Helen C. White, *Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 136–37.

The Kalender.					
January hath 31. dayes.			February hath 28. dayes.		
The Moone xxx.			The Moone xxix.		
Day of the month	Day of the month	Day of the month	Day of the month	Day of the month	Day of the month
1	Circumcision.		1	William Choise priest,	1407
2	John Wicliffe, Treas-	1387	2	purification of our	
3	Adam confes.	1382	3	Lordy.	
4	William Shewer priest	1400	4	John Claxton, Martyr.	1413
5	Quintus a priest, mar-		5	Richard Turmine, mar-	1413
6	Epiphany.		6	Fifra a confessor.	1416
7	St. Reg. Alton knight	1401	7	St. John Oldcastle, late	1418
8	John Wynne Gentleman	1413	8	Cobham, Martyr.	
9	John Denerley preacher	1413	9	Richard Bourcier, mar-	1430
10	Richard Shilcher mar-	1413	10	Thomas Dagley priest,	1431
11	John Castellane Doctor	1521	11	Martyr.	
12	Thos. Chittie Spinster,	1525	12	Paula Crames, Mar-	1431
13	Martyr.		13	Thomas Rhyon. Mar-	1436
14	Martyr.		14	Kaimla Deceche bishop,	1457
15	Martyr.		15	confessor.	
16	Martyr.		16	Richard only knight	1441
17	Martyr.		17	Martyr.	
18	Martyr.		18	Eleos Cobham gentle	
19	Martyr.		19	woman, confessor.	
20	Martyr.		20	Spicer of the lady Hong	1490
21	Martyr.		21	Martyr.	
22	Martyr.		22	Thomas Rhyer, Mar-	1507
23	Martyr.		23	Martyr.	
24	Martyr.		24	Thomas Echles Mar-	1510
25	Martyr.		25	Martyr.	
26	Martyr.		26	Thomas Dugay Mar-	1511
27	Martyr.		27	Martyr.	
28	Martyr.		28	Martyr.	
29	Martyr.		29	Martyr.	
30	Martyr.		30	Martyr.	
31	Martyr.		31	Martyr.	

49. Printed in red and black in the manner of rubricated manuscripts, the calendar inserted at the beginning of the first, fourth, and later editions of the *Book of Martyrs* follows the Book of Common Prayer in its omission of almost all traditional saints and retention of Christian festivals, evangelists, and apostolic saints. The days of each month are filled with the names of medieval and contemporary individuals whom Foxe honors as proto-Protestant or Protestant martyrs. *Book of Martyrs* (1583), §2^r.

methodical reading and rereading of martyrologies for decades, month in and month out. Given the counter-generic relationship between the *Golden Legend* and *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe's claim that its red-and-black calendar functions as a readers' guide is plausible. Even though it lacks

pagination, readers could look page numbers up in the index. In a manner of speaking, readers could use the calendar as an index to the index. By following the calendar, readers could circumvent annalistic reading in order to memorialize martyrs on or close to the anniversaries of their execution.¹¹ Although the *Golden Legend* lacks a formal calendar of saints, its organization of hagiographies in accordance with the liturgical year would have encouraged pious members of the laity to incorporate the reading of saints' lives into devotions on the feast days of particular saints. Voragine originally designed the *Legenda Aurea* not for liturgical use, but as a Latin sourcebook for preachers who looked up *exempla* to enliven sermons delivered in the vernacular.¹² Written by John Mirk, prior of an Augustinian monastery in fifteenth-century Shropshire, a body of sermons known as the *Festial* provides insight into how preachers employed the *Legenda Aurea*. Drawing heavily on saints' lives in this collection, Mirk designed cycles of *Temporale* homilies for delivery on important Sundays and feast days related to the life of Christ and *Sanctorale* homilies for the feast days of particular saints.¹³ The alphabetical table at the head of Caxton's translation of the *Golden Legend* would have enabled readers to look up saints' lives appropriate to particular days in the liturgical calendar. Of course, liturgical calendars were designed as guides not to reading, but to the order of worship throughout the year. Containing elements of the medieval breviary, notably the Psalter, the calendric entries of books of hours excluded legends of the saints. Nevertheless, the breviary in general did allow for readings of saints' legends in place of or in addition to lessons from the Bible. It is altogether likely that some readers of the *Book of Martyrs* found it convenient to follow a calendric model in the manner of Mirk's *Festial* and the *Golden Legend*.

The use of red lettering in the calendar mirrors that employed in the Book of Common Prayer to designate events in the life of Christ and the biblical saints for which a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel exist. Early printers rubricated major feast days on the model of manuscript and printed books of hours and other liturgical texts. Red-letter entries in the calendar call

¹¹ In a similar way, the liturgical calendar for the present-day Church of England memorializes William Tyndale and the Oxford Martyrs (Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, and Thomas Cranmer), for whom *A&M* contains extended entries.

¹² Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 74, 86, 103; and White, *Tudor Books*, p. 24.

¹³ Alan J. Fletcher and Susan Powell, "The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection: MSS Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV," *Leeds Studies in English* new series 10 (1978), pp. 74–75, 77.

attention to reformist heroes (e.g., Tyndale, Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer) in addition to Martin Luther and Edward VI. Although the calendar came under attack from radical Protestants who argued that it merely disguised the old calendar of the saints, it pointedly omits traditional saints whose careers lack scriptural authority. Iconoclastic attack on the traditional cult of the saints opened up room for inclusion of entries for proto-Protestant or Protestant heroes such as John Wyclif, Jan Hus, Lollard martyrs, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius. Heretics burnt alive during the reign of Mary I are particularly numerous.

Insertion of a new-style martyrological calendar provided one of the triggers for the Roman Catholic counterattack, which emanated from Louvain soon after publication of the first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*. The collective Catholic response began with books such as Thomas Harding's *A Confutation of a Book Entitled An Apology of the Church of England* (Antwerp, 1565) and Thomas Stapleton's *A Fortress of the Faith* (Antwerp, 1565). Although John Jewel's *An Apology, or Answer in Defense of the Church of England* (1562) is the primary object of attack, Harding also directs attack on Foxe's martyrological history as "that huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs" (fol. 14^r). Stapleton similarly inveighs against "the hougy [i.e., huge] donghell of his Actes and monuments, where in he taketh upon him to describe us the corrupted state of the church these later five hundred yeares" (fol. 29^v). Nicholas Harpsfield followed with a major response, *Dialogi Sex*, which Christopher Plantin, the eminent Antwerp printer, published in 1566 as the work of Alan Cope.¹⁴ Attribution of this book to this recusant scholar, who was resident in Flanders, gave some protection to Harpsfield. Containing in excess of 1,000 pages in quarto format, the book is as thick a volume as one may comfortably hold in one hand. Its publication in Latin indicates that Harpsfield planned it for use by an international readership of Latin-literate scholars. This book was well suited for readers to consult as they submitted the *Book of Martyrs* to critical scrutiny.

In some respects, the trajectory of Harpsfield's career mirrors that of Protestant exiles including Foxe and Bale. Trained at the University of Oxford, he left England in opposition to the implementation of Protestant

¹⁴ Appearing on the final page, the following initials provide a cryptic acknowledgment of Harpsfield's authorship of *Dialogi Sex*: A H L N H E V E A C. They provide a contraction of the following assignment of authorship to Harpsfield and editorship to Cope: "Auctor huius libri Nicolaus Harpsfeldus, eum vero edidit Alanus Copus." See Joseph Simons, *Robert Persons, S. J. Certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965), p. 26.

reforms during the reign of Edward VI. Returning to England during the reign of Mary I, he became archdeacon at Canterbury Cathedral, a position that conferred authority on him during heresy prosecutions. In the *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe likens the severity of Harpsfield's persecution of Protestants to that of the much vilified Bishop Edmund Bonner. Indeed, the martyrologist disseminates a hearsay report that Harpsfield hastened from London to Canterbury, as Queen Mary lay on her deathbed, to order the execution of prisoners who might otherwise have survived.¹⁵ Attracting disfavor as a leader of the opposition to the restoration of Protestant religious reforms at the outset of the reign of Elizabeth, this Catholic cleric was imprisoned for obduracy from late 1559 until the end of his life in 1575.

Detailed references in *Dialogi Sex* indicate that Harpsfield had an opportunity to read both the 1563 version of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and a substantial component of the *Magdeburg Centuries* during his incarceration at Fleet Prison. Johannes Oporinus published nine out of thirteen volumes of the latter book after Harpsfield went to prison in 1559 and before publication of his treatise seven years later (see Chapter 1.C). Citations from these substantial folio volumes and other books indicate that Harpsfield had access to reading material during imprisonment, even though he may have referred to some of them from memory. Attack on the *Book of Martyrs* represents a minor concern in Harpsfield's treatise, because he aims five out of six dialogues against the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Compiled by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his fellow centuriators, this Protestant ecclesiastical history was an important source for the 1570 version of Foxe's martyrological history. In opposition to the *Magdeburg Centuries*, Harpsfield asserts Roman Catholic positions concerning papal supremacy, monasticism, the invocation and intercession of saints, and religious images. He also attacks polemical books written by Johannes Sleidanus and John Jewel.

Harpsfield's attack on the *Book of Martyrs* centers on the substitution of "pseudo-martyrs" for traditional saints and martyrs in the 1563 calendar. In a telling move, the Roman Catholic controversialist lodges a detailed defense of the cult of the saints. Unlike Protestants who take St. Stephen as the prototype for martyrdom, Harpsfield looks to St. Cyprian as an exemplary figure who is much esteemed in Roman Catholic tradition. In the second edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe defends the 1563 calendar on the grounds that it only lists the names of martyrs included in the first edition.¹⁶ The martyrologist's rejoinder to Harpsfield reflects the great

¹⁵ 1563, p. 1703; 1570, pp. 2140, 2253.

¹⁶ 1570, pp. 691–93.

expansion of the 1570 version, which effectively begins with the imperial persecutions. On the traditional ground that it is the cause, not the suffering – *non poena, sed causa* – that makes a martyr, Foxe responds to Harpsfield's rejection of his martyrological claims. Given the fact that the 1563 version begins with the Lollard movement, it is not surprising that Harpsfield focuses on demolishing the reputations of Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Onley, who are memorialized along with Wyclif among the red-letter entries for January and February in the calendar (Figure 49). Harpsfield attacks them and other Wycliffite martyrs as traitors rather than saints. He also engages in systematic deflation of claims that Foxe lodges in favor of Wyclif, Luther, Sir John Hales (the suicide), Eleanor Cobham (wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester), James Bainham, the Hussites, and other Protestants and their predecessors.

The savage attack of Roman Catholic critics resulted in the withdrawal of the calendar in the 1570 and 1576 editions. In response to critical readers like Harpsfield, Foxe amended his prefaces and engaged in extensive revision and expansion of the 1570 *Book of Martyrs*. The wholly new dedication deviates from praise of Elizabeth I in order to explain how Roman Catholic claims that his martyrological history contains a multitude of lies have prevented him from abandoning publication in the vernacular for the sake of Latin scholarship:

But certaine evill disposed persons, of intemperant tounge, adversaries to good procedynges would not suffer me so to rest, fummyng and freatyng, and raising up suche miserable exclamations at the first appearyng of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare . . . Such blustryng and styrring was then against that poore booke through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Lovaine: so that no English Papist almost in all the Realme thought him selfe a perfect Catholicke, unlesse he had cast out some word or other, to geve that booke a blow. (1570, *1^r)

In place of the calendar, the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs* contains a pair of alphabetical tables that enumerate sources (“The Names of the Authors Alleged in this Booke, besides many and sondry other Authors whose names are unknowen, and also besides divers Recordes of Parliament, and also other matters found out in Registers of sondry Byshops of this Realme”) and the names of martyrs that the book contains (§1^v-3^r; see above). In order to substantiate the veracity of the book, the first table lists sources ranging from the classics (e.g., Cicero, Socrates, and Suetonius) to early Christian and patristic authorities (e.g., Prudentius, Eusebius, Tertullian, and Anselm), medieval sources (e.g., Alcuin, Peter Lombard,

and William of Ockham), humanists (e.g., Pope Pius II,¹⁷ Lorenzo Valla, Marsilio of Padua, and Marsilio Ficino), Protestant historians (e.g., Hall's *Chronicle* and Matthias Flacius Illyricus), contemporary Protestant thinkers (e.g., Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, and Flacius), and their Roman Catholic counterparts (e.g., More and Vives). Despite Foxe's attack on the validity of the *Golden Legend*, he does cite its compiler, Jacobus de Voragine, as a source. Foxe also retains Gildas and William of Malmesbury, even though another one of his authorities, Polydore Virgil, had discredited them as legendary sources for ancient British history. Among the more interesting sources on this list are Dante and Petrarch, whom Foxe and his coreligionists saw as proto-Protestant satirists because of their antipapal sentiments, which include Dante's placement of pontiffs in the *Inferno* and Petrarch's equation between the papacy and Antichrist in his sonnets on the Babylonian Captivity of the church. Chaucer earns a place because of his contemporary reputation as a proto-Protestant satirist.¹⁸

Adding up to more than 1,000 entries, the list of the names of "such as have suffered most terrible Martyrdome" is much more inclusive than the memorial entries in the 1563 calendar. By mentioning that it is impossible to include a host of anonymous martyrs in this table, who include about 30,000 victims of the final persecution of Emperor Diocletian, Foxe indicates that he designed it to impress the reader with the vastness of his martyrological enterprise. He goes beyond the Marian martyrs, who fill the greater part of the calendar, to enumerate a host of biblical and early Christian victims, and their medieval and early modern successors, both in England and on the continent. Because this list is alphabetical, it functions not as a guide to methodical reading, in the manner of the calendar, but as a specialized index of names that directs readers to the specific pages for martyrologies. It invites a different kind of discontinuous reading, independent of the liturgical calendar. This table is compatible with Foxe's extraordinary expansion of the second edition through the inclusion of material that predates the Wycliffite movement.

Although Foxe acknowledges Harpsfield's responsibility for *Dialogi Sex*, he directs a prolix response to its perceived editor, Alan Cope, in the 1570 *Book of Martyrs*. In particular, he sets about to defend the 1563 version

¹⁷ Aeneas Sylvius or Enea Silvio Piccolomini.

¹⁸ *SPART*, pp. 15–16, 20–26.

against the charge that it disseminates false and fraudulent information concerning Oldcastle, Acton, and others (1570, pp. 676–98). Although Foxe concedes that competing truth claims are incapable of demonstrable proof, he resorts to the axiom noted earlier that it is the cause, not the suffering, which makes a martyr (1576, pp. 676–78, 680–81). Explaining that errors in the 1563 version resulted from the mistranslation of portions that derived from his 1559 Latin martyrology, Foxe castigates Cope's recourse to publication because he would have responded to admonishment delivered in the form of private letters (1570, p. 691). He further admonishes Cope for ignoring *Ad doctum Lectorem*, the preface in which he explains that he designed the calendar not to disestablish "true" saints of the early Christian era, but for the express purpose of assisting readers with a table that records the day and month of the deaths of "such as suffered in these latter dayes" (i.e., since the time of Wyclif) (1570, pp. 691–92). In particular, he deflects Cope's attack on the use of rubrication in the calendar with the counter-argument that the use of red ink is a harmless practice by contrast with the pope's martyring of believers whom he "doth . . . rubricate with their owne blood" (1570, p. 693). Indeed, Foxe provides insight into the production of the first edition as a material object when he disclaims responsibility for the choice of rubrication on the grounds that John Day exercised his prerogative as publisher in deciding to employ red ink:

And as for colouring the names of certain Martyrs in the sayd calendare in redde or scarlet leters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the painter [i.e., designer] or printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh his pacience, why rather doth not he expostulate in this behalfe with the great sainte maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more then ever did I. For he did redde and dyed them with their own blood, where as I did but onely colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my Calendare enough. (1570, pp. 694–95)

The use of red lettering designates the importance of readings, rather than a degree of sanctity.

After Foxe's death, Robert Parsons compiled a searching rebuttal to his martyrological history: *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganism to Christian Religion* (1603–1604). Attribution of this book to N. D. (initials for the pseudonym of Nicholas Doleman) serves to conceal his identity from English authorities, who harried missionary priests and recusants accused of treason. Asserting that the martyrologist is "like a wylie Fox indeed" (1.98), this Jesuit controversialist builds on and extends

Harpsfield's claim that the *Book of Martyrs* is filled with lies, falsifications, and errors.¹⁹ These charges have provided a basis for attack on Foxe's book into modern times. Parsons also responds to anti-recusant attacks written by Sir Francis Hastings.²⁰

One of the most active controversialists in the Roman Catholic émigré community, Parsons headed the Jesuit missionary endeavor in England and operated a secret printing press near London when he joined Edmund Campion in 1580. Unlike Campion, whom Roman Catholics revere as a martyred saint, Parsons escaped to continental Europe after the mission collapsed the following year. From there, he continued to print books in the English language at Rouen. He also founded a seminary for English missionary priests at Eu in Normandy. Traveling widely in support of a Roman Catholic invasion of England, Parsons became rector of the English College at Rome and founded Jesuit seminaries at Valladolid and Seville. Under his own name and a variety of pseudonyms, he published a total of thirty-two finished books excluding works that he left unfinished, co-authored, or to which he contributed.

Printed in the English vernacular by François Bellet at St. Omer in Artois, the *Treatise* afforded consolation to the English Catholic community at large, rather than the narrow audience of *literati* to whom Harpsfield, Cope, and Plantin addressed *Dialogi Sex*. Printing presses at St. Omer published Roman Catholic polemics and devotional texts that merchants smuggled across the English Channel into England. Dividing the text into three parts, Bellet printed it in three packed volumes as thick as a hand-held book can be. Publication of the 2,664 pages of the *Treatise* in three lengthy and squat octavos rendered it difficult to conceal.

Occupying the whole of volume 1, the first two parts investigate England's threefold conversion to Christianity during the apostolic era, under Pope Eleutherius and King Lucius in the second century, and under Pope Gregory I and King Ethelbert early in the seventh century. Parsons dedicates this volume "to the Catholiques of England" and devotes it to the proposition that all three conversions "have byn from Rome, and to the Romane Catholique faith, and that the same faith hath continued in

¹⁹ Parsons may have begun his response to Foxe as part of his projected *Certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which he began as a continuation of Harpsfield's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*. Parsons abandoned *Certamen* when its length ballooned, but *Three Conversions* retains much of the anti-Foxean sentiment present in the earlier project. See Simons, *Robert Persons*, pp. 7–12, 26.

²⁰ *A Watchword to All Religious, and True Hearted Englishmen* (1598) and *An Apology or Defense of the Watchword* (1600).

England ever since throughout all ages to this day" (1.†2^v). He then takes the irenic step of dedicating the second volume "to the Protestants of England," because publication of this book took place soon after the death of Elizabeth I, when hopes stirred among English Catholics for a lessening of persecution by the new regime of James I. The dedication of the final volume is to "the glorious Company of English Sainctes in heaven."²¹

The foreshortening of parts one and two into a single volume provides an index of the degree to which Parsons is preoccupied with the calendar wherein Foxe "treateth of new martyrs, and Confessors of his Church, placed by him in an Ecclesiasticall Calendar in the beginning therof; which Calendar is discussed, and compared with the Catholique Calendar: And this parte growing to be longer then the rest, goeth printed aparte." In actual fact, as we have noted, John Day appears to have been responsible for the restoration of the calendar in the 1583 version of the *Book of Martyrs*. Acknowledging the prolixity of his extended attack on the calendar, Parsons allows it to spread across volumes 2 and 3 of the *Treatise*, which respectively counter the two volumes into which Foxe and Day divided the *Book of Martyrs* in 1570. The second volume of the *Treatise* accordingly attacks the "state and progresse of protestant Religion . . . from the primitive Church downward" (1.†2^v) until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The third volume considers Foxean history from the accession of Henry VIII until the death of Mary I.

Parsons's careful description of the *Book of Martyrs* as a material object reflects practical experience that he had gained in printing books in England and France. We see this in his inclusion of specific page references and provision of a detailed bibliographical description:

He that will consider the proportion of John Fox his booke of *acts & monuments* in the later edition, he shall find it the greatest perhaps in volume that ever was put forth in our English tounge . . . The volume consisteth of above a thousand leaves of the largest paper that lightly hath beene seene, and every leafe conteyneth 4. greate columns: and yet, if yow consider how many leaves of those thousand he hath spent in deduction of the whole Church eyther his or ours, and the whole Ecclesiasticall story [i.e., history] therof, for the first thousand yeares after Christ; they are by his owne accompte, but threscore & foure. To witt, scarce the thirteth parte of that he bestoweth in the last five hundred yeares. (1.299–300)

²¹ The signatures spanned by these dedicatory prefaces are †3^r–*1^v in vol. 1, †2^r–††5^r in vol. 2, and *2^r–8^v in vol. 3.

In other words, Foxe's allocation of "only eight leaves of paper" to the initial 200 years of "our first English primitive Church" (1.356), or no more than sixty-four leaves (i.e., 128 pages) to the first millennium of Christian history, fails to negate the Roman Catholic charge that Protestants engage in a fraudulent attempt to invent a new church, rather than restore the "true" church that is continuous from the apostolic era. Continuing to scoff, he derides the dedication of 300 leaves to 500 years of history during the remainder of volume 1 of the *Book of Martyrs*, versus the allocation of 600 leaves to sixteenth-century history in the second volume (1.436–39). In his view, the physical proportions of the *Book of Martyrs* call into question its assertions concerning the continuity of an invisible church of "true" believers prior to the Reformation. This attack extends to disapproval of Foxe's inclusion of "notes & titles commonly wrytten over the heads of his leaves and pages" (1.357).

Under the subtitle of *The Third Part of a Treatise, Entitled Of the Three Conversions of England*, the second and third volumes function as an exhaustive readers' guide to Foxe's calendar and the stories that it delineates. Parsons's structuring of each volume as a semiannual collection indicates the degree to which he is committed to selective, non-diachronic reading that follows the cycle of the Christian calendar. In excluding non-martyrological material and in eschewing a linear, annalistic approach to the *Book of Martyrs*, he fails to address the needs of those who read the book or its parts from beginning to end. Respectively considering martyrologies for individuals who died between January and June and between July and December, each volume begins with a "double calendar" (2.a3^r, 3.*6^r). Each opening takes the form of parallel tables that list Catholic saints on the verso side and Protestant saints on the recto in chronological order, day in and day out. In actual fact, the Catholic side amalgamates entries from three different calendars that commemorate Roman Catholic saints in general, particular English saints whose observances are incorporated into the use of Sarum, and non-canonized martyrs from whom Parsons selects observances for insertion into *feria* (i.e., days lacking any saint's feast). With a total length of 178 pages, this parallel calendar would have been suitable for publication as an independent book.

Parsons places particular stress on whether Foxe shifts the date of an observance from its place in the Catholic calendar or whether the printer employs red or black ink. He criticizes both the failure to use red ink in commemoration of Catholic saints and its appropriation for Protestant martyrs. Not only does Foxe change the date of the Conversion of Paul, for example, but the failure to employ rubrication degrades one of the most

important Catholic saints' days: "This feast of S. Paul the Apostle John Fox by error, as yt seemeth, hath placed upon this 22. day of January, & in blacke letters only, wheras the Roman calendar and our English of *Sarum* doth celebrate yt, as a principall double feast in redd letters upon the 25. day" (2.b1^r). Employing a Latin heading, the facing entry on the Catholic side assigns the same feast to its proper date and degree of celebration in the Roman calendar: "Conversio Pauli Apostoli. duplex. *This miraculous conversion was wrought by Christ in the second year after his Assension*" (2.a8^v). In the entry for 26 January, Parsons mocks Foxe's inclusion of William Lowick, a Kentish artisan, "whome he thought worthy to oppose to S. Polycarp, that was in our Calendar, and to give him his place therin" (2.b1^r, 2^r). This stab embodies Parsons's accusation that Foxe supplants "auncient martyrs" by filling a fraudulent calendar with Protestant confessors and martyrs (1.303). He goes on to mock the contrasting inclusion of a red-letter entry for John Philpot, an obscure figure who is the first of two martyrs with the same name: "Albeit this martyr be sett downe in great redd letters in this Calendar of John Fox, yet was he a poore simple, unlearned man, and so made a rubricate martyr heere eyther by error, or for honor only of the name, of another *Philpott* Archdeacon of Winchester in Queen Maryes time, whose feast is in December" (2.b2^r, 3^r). In the case of Thomas Bilney, red lettering belies the fact that his theological ideas were quite orthodox, even though his hostility to religious images, which he shared with Catholic humanists such as Erasmus, found favor with later Protestants: "This is the greatest rubricate martyr of John Foxes in this moneth of March, for that he was one of the first Lutherans in England, but yet his opinions shew that he little agreed with John Fox and his Church; and whatsoever he held different from us, he recalled and recanted, before his death, and in that recantation he died" (2.c4^r).

In providing a summary table at the end of the parallel calendar, Parsons differentiates between the spiritual unity of 3,704 Catholic saints versus the sectarian fragmentation of 456 schismatics in the Foxean calendar. Whereas large numbers of popes, bishops, and virgin martyrs are among the former, we encounter few bishops and, unsurprisingly, no virgin martyrs among the latter. In contrast to those whom Parsons considers to be "true" saints, all of whom "were of one faith and Religion agreeable to the Roman at this day," their Foxean counterparts constitute a cross-section of heretical sects, notably Waldensians, Albigensians, Lollards, Hussites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Puritans. The majority of them consist of low-born peasants, artisans, women, apostate clerics, and "publike malefactors . . . condemned by the

lawes for such" (2.f7^v–8^r). These charges hit home with an early reader, who corrected Parsons's calculations in a copy of the 1563 *Book of Martyrs* that is preserved at Foxe's home town of Boston, Lincolnshire. Writing in what appears to be an early seventeenth-century secretary hand, this reader seeks to blunt Parsons's charges by checking them against the original and recording errors in the margins of the book attacked by the Jesuit propagandist.²²

The main body of the *Third Part of a Treatise* consists of a detailed critique designed to lead readers to reject individual martyrologies compiled by Foxe. Although Parsons lodges a host of allegations concerning falsifications and errors in the *Book of Martyrs*, he rarely challenges its factual accounts of heresy examinations and executions. The Catholic controversialist instead joins his antagonist in subscribing to the axiom that it is not the suffering, but the cause, that makes a martyr: "this willinge or rather willfull sufferinge death in sectaryes for their particular opinions, is not to be called *Constancy*, but rather *pertinacy*" (3.1). In this way, he confers a negative valuation on attributes that Foxe praises.²³ Reinterpreting the evidence concerning Protestant heroes and heroines, he cites conflicting testimony from Holinshed's *Chronicles* and other sources. In the case of Anne Askew, for example, he reverses the opinion of John Bale and others who idealize her as a courageous example of a faithful woman whose reading of the Bible led her to testify to her religious convictions in opposition to authorities ranging from her father and husband to clerics, a bishop, and varied royal officials. Deploing the fact that the affective power of "this yonge womans story is so pittifully related by John Fox, as he would moove compassion on her side" (2.492), Parsons represents her as an unruly dissident, whose misinterpretation of the vernacular Bible led her to flout patriarchal expectations concerning feminine chastity, silence, and obedience. Seizing on Bale's characterization of her as *iuvencula* (i.e., a young heifer destined for sacrificial slaughter) in his commentary on Askew's *Examinations*, Parsons ridicules her as one who "abideth no yoke" and whose "gad[ding] up & downe the countrey a ghospelling & ghossiping where she might, & ought not," stigmatizes her as a loquacious and dissident woman. A marginal note calls her chastity into question: "Anne Askue suspected of dishonest life."

²² Victor Houlston, "The Martyr Tallies: Robert Persons and his Anonymous Respondent," in *JFHA*, pp. 47–50.

²³ Ceri Sullivan, "'Oppressed by the Force of Truth': Robert Persons Edits John Foxe," in *JFHP*, p. 164.

Not only does the transcription incorporated into the *Book of Martyrs* demonstrate the “intollerable arrogancy” of the “proud & presumptuous answers, quips, and nips, which she gave both in matter of Religion, & otherwise to the Kings Councell, and Bishops,” but it places her in the company of the notorious heretic, Joan of Kent, an Anabaptist who was burnt alive during the reign of Edward VI (2.495–96).

Following the manner of his analysis of the examinations and execution of Anne Askew, Parsons scrutinizes other martyrologies in the Foxean calendar. In support of his attack on Sir John Oldcastle, for example, he compiles evidence from Trevisa’s *Polychronicon*, Hall’s *Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Houses*, Holinshed’s *Chronicles* and other sources. When he comes to approve of the hanging, drawing, and quartering of Sir Roger Onley and executions of many other proto-Protestants, he draws on *Dialogi Sex*, which he attributes both to Alan Cope and Nicholas Harpsfield. He mocks William Tyndale, “whome Fox and Bale do honor . . . with the title of *Apostle of England*,” with the punning comment upon “what a saint he was, and which was greater, eyther his Apostleshippe or Apostasy” (3.169–70). In yet another example of his disapproval of the reading and interpretation of the Bible by members of the laity, Parsons attacks Alice Driver, a “famous doctrix,” as a feminine variation of Tyndale’s plowboy (3.254). He furthermore derides Rose Allin for her response to interrogation about the see of Rome: “by the grace of God I will not swymme in that Sea while I live” (3.130). Where he sees ignorance, others might perceive a witty pun.

The existence of competing Catholic and Protestant martyrologies demonstrates that methodical reading of calendric entries was a widespread practice. *The English Martyrologe* compiled by John Wilson, a Jesuit priest who supervised the English College Press at St. Omer, accordingly follows the synchronic model of the Christian calendar in offering a “summary of the lives of the glorious and renowned Saintes of the three Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Collected and distributed into Moneths, after the forme of a Calendar, according to every Saintes festivity” (*1^r). The compiler attests that his transfer of some readings from the dates when martyrs died to days that lack texts enables his book to function as a diurnal reading guide (*8^{f-v}). That he designed this book for rigorous daily reading is apparent from the assignment of a cycle of dominical letters to seven weekly readings and the provision of the following refrain, which is “alwayes thus to be repeated in the end of every day”: “And in other places of many holy Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins; to whose prayers and merits, we humbly commend our selves” (A1^v).

Although Wilson gears this text for English Catholic *illiterati*, marginal citations to Latin sources are addressed to learned Catholic readers. In response to Protestant attacks on the veracity of traditional saints' lives, Wilson assures the reader that he has rejected "all Apocryphall Legends or other fabulous Historyes, that may be any way suspected of the least note of falsity or errour whatsoever" (*7^v). In addition to daily readings concerning British martyrs, Wilson fills an entire gathering with an appended summary catalog of Roman Catholics martyred since England's schism from the Church of Rome. In addition to Thomas More, John Fisher, and other Catholics executed at the outset of the Henrician Reformation, he enumerates Edmund Campion, Robert Southwell, Margaret Clitherow, and many others (Aa1–8).

Although the link between the *English Martyrologe* and the *Book of Martyrs* might appear to be tenuous, the anonymous author of *The Fiery Trial of God's Saints* (1611)²⁴ makes it clear that he understands Wilson's calendar as an attack on Foxe's martyrological history. Published by Arthur Johnson, a bookseller who maintained premises at St. Paul's churchyard, this "Counter-poyze to J. W. Priest his English Martyrologe" functions as an epitome of the 1610 edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, whose great price places it beyond the reach of ordinary individuals: "The booke at large (worthy to be written in letters of gould) is this yeare newly and well printed by the Companie of Stationers in London" (p. 18). Not only does this book contain dedications to Henry Frederick, the militantly Protestant Prince of Wales, and the "well affected, and loyall hearted Reader" (p. 1), it mocks "Romish male-contents" with the exultant assertion that the failure of the Spanish Armada and Gunpowder Plot constituted providential deliverances that prevented the overthrow of the English monarchy (pp. 22, 26).

In contrast to the printing of parallel calendars on facing pages in Parsons's *Third Part of a Treatise*, the compiler cleaves the body of *The Fiery Trial* into sequential calendars of allegedly true martyrs and pseudo-martyrs. The bookseller notes that these calendars are "very necessary for all Lawyers, Scriveners, Clarkes, or whosoever else desire upon any occasion to know how the double account of the yeares of the Raignes of the Princes of *England* and *Scotland*, since the first yeare of Queene Marie untill this present yeare of our Lord 1611. doe agree and concurre" (G1^r, H2^r). Woodcuts derived from the Book of Revelation juxtapose Protestant

²⁴ Citations are from the second issue (STC 24270), printed by Thomas Purfoot and Thomas Creede for Arthur Johnson in 1612.

saints, three of whom are perishing within a flaming pyre, with alleged pseudo-martyrs, who receive treasonous instructions from the pope as Antichrist, who is mounted on the Seven-headed Beast (G1^v, H2^v). The modeling of the first picture on a woodcut in the *Book of Martyrs* underscores the link between the two books.²⁵ The second scene displays staple iconographical elements of German Lutheran and English Protestant visual propaganda.²⁶

The intricate tables of these sections revert not to the prefatory calendar of the *Book of Martyrs*, but to its annalistic format at large. Taking the date of Edward VI's death (6 July 1553) as their point of departure,²⁷ the columns of the first section juxtapose concurrent calendars. Despite the fact that "M^r Foxe and the Pseudomartyrologist [i.e., John Wilson] began the yeare the first of January," the compiler subscribes to 25 March (Lady Day) as the first day of the year according to the English legal calendar. He acknowledges that this can result in confusion: "As for example, M^r Foxe hath noted *John Rogers* the first Martyr in *Queene Marie* her dayes, to have suffered February 4. 1555. which yet according to our account was in the yeare 1554" (p. 8). In addition to the column for legal years, parallel columns provide alternative means of dating by reference to the regnal years for the Scottish kingdom under Mary Stuart and the kingdom of England under Mary I. The remaining columns enumerate the "Names of such Martyrs as were burned in *England* in *Queen Maries* Raigne, for the profession of the Gospell"; the days of the month on which they suffered; and the location of the sites of their execution. Continuing across the reign of Elizabeth I, who came to the throne of England on 17 November 1558, the columns of the second part provide dates for legal years, regnal years for England under Elizabeth I and James I (James VI of Scotland), and regnal years for Scotland under Mary Stuart and James VI. The remaining columns enumerate the "Names of Traitors . . . executed in *England* in *Queen Elizabeths* Raigne," the days of the month when they died, and their places of execution.

The sequential martyrological calendars in *The Fiery Trial* offer a striking contrast between the relatively short interval of the Marian burnings

²⁵ L&I 11223/91. Entitled "The burning of Joanne Horne, Katherine Hut, and Elizabeth Thackuell," this single-column narrative illustration is used once each in the 1570, 1576, and 1583 editions of *A&M*. The fact that no Foxe woodcut displays three male martyrs burning in the style of the *Fiery Trial* illustration suggests that the designer imitated this picture of female martyrs.

²⁶ See King, *Milton and Religious Controversy*, fig. 16.

²⁷ This source ignores the reign of Jane Grey in making the incorrect claim (G2^r) that Mary I's reign began on 6 July.

(4 February 1555–17 November 1558) and the long reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603). The anonymous deviser asserts that the Marian burnings outnumber the execution of Catholics under Elizabeth I and James VI and I by a factor of “more then tenne for one” (p. 5). The pages of the first calendar, which functions as an innovative reader’s guide to the *Book of Martyrs*, are filled with scores of closely packed executions of about 260 “Martyrs burned in 5. yeares of Queen *Maries* Raigne” (H1^r). Spreading fewer executions over many decades, the second calendar (“Detestable Ends of Popish Traytors”) marks the date of the death of her successor with statistics derived from the *English Martyrologe*: “The whole number of such Priests, Jesuits, and Recusants, as were executed in all the time of Queen *Elizabeths* Raigne, being 44. yeares and 4. moneths, according to the Martyrologists owne account (as he falsely pretends for religion) amounts but to 180.” Taking Wilson’s final entry as its *terminus ad quem*, the second martyrological calendar concludes with this note: “And thus endeth J: W: Priest the Pseudo-Martyrologist, by whose account there have suffered since the first yeare of King *James*, of these Popish Traytors (as he falsely pretends for Religion) to the number of 13” (I3^v).

The inclusion of the calendar in most editions of the *Book of Martyrs* inflamed controversy. This is the case regardless of whether John Day or John Foxe devised it and ordered the use of red lettering, concerning which Roman Catholic readers expressed considerable irritation. Although Foxe is disingenuous in claiming that the calendar furnishes a simple program of reading, it is explicitly iconoclastic in its replacement of saints venerated by Roman Catholics with anti-Roman counterparts. Even though Foxe reorganized and expanded the second edition in order to demonstrate continuity between latter-day saints and their early Christian predecessors, he does exclude the great majority of saints whose lives fill the pages of the *Golden Legend*. The vehement disapproval of Catholic critics, such as Nicholas Harpsfield and exiles in Louvain, appears to be the immediate cause of the removal of the calendar from the 1570 and 1576 editions. The front matter of the first four editions therefore oscillates between advocacy of two different kinds of discontinuous reading. The first involves a more Catholic style of methodical daily reading that resembles that advocated in Wilson’s *English Martyrologe*. The alphabetical table found at the beginning of the second and third editions invites readers instead to read particular martyrologies out of any chronological order. Parsons, Wilson, and their fellow believers engage in a discontinuous and selective reading that ignores the annalistic structure of the *Book of Martyrs* in favor of following the cycle of multiple Christian calendars. Rejecting

Foxe's defense of the calendar as a tool for reading, they insist with considerable justification that he degrades Roman Catholic saints' days. *The Fiery Trial of God's Saints* holds up an altogether different model for diachronic reading that mirrors the annalistic organization of the *Book of Martyrs*. By failing to encourage cyclical reading and rereading, whoever devised this book parts company from Foxe, Harpsfield, Parsons, and Wilson. The existence of these competing martyrologies demonstrates that methodical reading of calendric entries was a widespread practice. By excluding non-martyrological material, these very different methods failed to address the requirements of those who subscribed to the alternative practice of reading and rereading the *Book of Martyrs* from beginning to end.

C. Book owners and libraries

In *Ad doctum Lectorem*, Foxe articulates expectations concerning book sales very different from later beliefs concerning acquisition of the *Book of Martyrs*. He claims that he compiled it not for institutional ownership, but for private individuals to read at home: "Let him remember that it is not intended to be set up in churches, but to be prepared for household reading."²⁸ This assertion invites us to interrogate the longstanding belief that early readers tended to read copies chained in public places. If Foxe's intentions reflect actual patterns of use, it may be that private owners acquired most copies of the 1563 version. Placement on lecterns would have permitted the reading of this book at these locations or in studies that were increasingly a feature of larger dwellings constructed in Elizabethan London. Although specialized libraries were not a feature of earlier houses, unless owners possessed unusually large collections, they did emerge in domestic architecture of the seventeenth century.²⁹ A 1610 inventory for a household in Cockesdon accordingly makes note of a "Studdye Roome" that contains two dozen books and "a deske whereuppon the Book of Martyrs now standes."³⁰ The increasing vernacularity of this book would have contributed to its appeal to a broadly diversified audience of secular readers at the middle of the social scale, who were able to buy, borrow, or

²⁸ 1563, B4^r.

²⁹ John Schofield, "The Topography and Buildings of London, ca. 1600," in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 309–10.

³⁰ Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, "Religious Publishing in England 1557–1640," in Barnard and McKenzie, p. 60.

receive copies by gift or inheritance. Indeed, seventeenth-century yeomen were known to bequeath prized copies to their beneficiaries.³¹

The *Book of Martyrs* found a place, furthermore, in the libraries of individuals at the apex of the social scale. Among the most interesting copies are those acquired by English monarchs, whose religio-political authority the book uneasily celebrates. Despite Foxe's oblique criticism of Elizabeth I in the 1570–83 versions, William Harrison reports that copies were readily available to readers at court: "Such order is taken that every office hath either a Bible or the books of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church of England* or both, beside some histories and chronicles lying therein for the exercise of such as come into the same."³² Included in an introductory account of present-day England in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, this comment attributes to Foxe's book a quasi-iconic significance akin to that of the Bible. Copies are not known to survive from the library of Elizabeth I or James I, but examples owned by their immediate successors were in the old Royal Library when the British Museum (now known as the British Library) acquired it in 1757. Their presence in the collections of Charles I and II renders all the more implausible the widespread belief that William Laud attempted to block publication of the eighth edition of the *Book of Martyrs* and to ensure the removal of chained copies from churches (see Chapter 2.C.9).

Charles I read the *Book of Martyrs* during his imprisonment.³³ Indeed, he may have read an extant copy of the 1641 version from the royal library. Its gold-tooled black leather covers are decorated with the Stuart arms and the initials CR (for Carolus Rex).³⁴ The title page of the third volume of the eighth edition proclaims that it continues this collection up to his reign: "Whereunto are annexed certaine additions, unto the time of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles now reigning." Charles II received a more opulent presentation copy of the same edition from its publisher, the Stationers' Company. A 4 June 1660 resolution of Stationers' Court describes it as the "'Booke of Martyrs of the best Paper Ruled and after the best manner bound in Turkey Leather and gilt with the Kings Armes stamped thereon in Gold.'" The Company commissioned one of its members, Samuel Mearne, to bind the three volumes. He in turn passed

³¹ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 158. ³² Harrison, *Description*, pp. 230–31.

³³ Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 52.

³⁴ BL C.78.i.3 (only vol. 2). Mirjam M. Foot discusses the tools used for stamping designs on these covers. "Some Bindings for Charles I," in *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*, ed. Foot (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp. 340–51.

this job on to John Fletcher, who received £7 10s for this job: “May 14 Payd M^r Flesher for bindeing the B. Martyrs for ye King.” Another entry records an expenditure of £2 2s 7d to a supplier for “ribband & fringe” and other accoutrements. Not only did Fletcher adorn the red leather covers with the Stuart royal arms, but he also decorated the fore-edges with portraits of the king and the monarchical emblems of the Tudor rose and Stuart thistle, which he then gilded along with the other edges.³⁵ Rev. William Buckley, a Victorian book collector, acquired yet another copy with a royal provenance. He penciled the following note onto the front flyleaf:

This book was once in the possession of Queen Charlotte, Consort of King George the Third. Her Cypher or Monogram is pasted inside the first cover. I stamped [the initial C] on the outside of the same. It was purchased at the sale of her books, after her decease, by Rivingtons Ltd., 146 Strand, from whom I bought it on y^e 5th of July 1823. I gave four guineas for it.³⁶

At the upper end of the social scale, we also encounter aristocrats such as Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey, who compiled a vast library that was auctioned off following his death in 1686. The largest private collection in Britain, the Annesley library consisted of as many as 30,000 volumes, many of which were housed at his London mansion on Drury Lane. The subsection for “English Divinity” in the auction catalog includes a copy of the 1596 version of the *Book of Martyrs*, in addition to the “fam’d Edition” of 1610. The Annesley collection also contained closely related books, such as Mason’s 1615 abridgement, *Christ’s Victory Over Satan’s Tyranny*, and Foxe’s edition of *The Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*.³⁷ Annesley’s nonconformist sympathies led him to collect a substantial number of publications by dissenters and opponents of the Stuart regime. This library was of especial importance during the Restoration, because the earl took the unusual step of opening it to respectable citizens. Indeed, he patronized Andrew Marvell, who made use of this collection when he wrote the two parts of *The Rehearsal Transpros’d* (1672–73), a witty satire on the legal enforcement of religious conformity.³⁸ He was fortunate in gaining access to the Annesley library, because

³⁵ BL 201.h.5–7. See Howard M. Nixon, “English Bookbindings XVI: A London Binding by Fletcher, 1660” and “English Bookbindings XVII: A London Binding by Fletcher, c. 1662,” *The Book Collector* 5 (Spring–Summer 1956), pp. 53–54, 150. This essay provides an illustration of BL 201.h.6.

³⁶ Oxford, Brasenose College, Lath. R.4.3.

³⁷ Thomas Phillips, *Bibliotheca Angleseiana* (1686), nos. 7, 37, 104, 133 (Aa1^r-2^r).

³⁸ Annabel Patterson and Martin Dzelzainis, “Marvell and the Earl of Anglesey: A Chapter in the History of Reading,” *The Historical Journal* 44 (2001), pp. 707, 709, 711–12, et passim.

members of the reading public were admitted to few collections. Librarians at Westminster Abbey and Lambeth Palace would have been unlikely to admit Marvell as he conducted research on the second part of his book, although he might have gained access to the preachers' library at Sion College, an association of clerics in the City of London, on the basis of a letter of recommendation from a ministerial fellow. It is worthy of note that Marvell also traveled from London to Oxford, where he took up residence in order to read at the Bodleian Library.³⁹

Even though the *Book of Martyrs* became increasingly suitable for readers of the vernacular, Latin-educated scholars also acquired copies. Richard Cox, the reformist Bishop of Ely, is a good example of a member of the intelligentsia who owned a copy, even though Latin theology dominated his large private library. His service as tutor to Edward VI and as Chancellor of the University of Oxford during the reign of this boy king attests to the excellence of his credentials as a humanistic scholar learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Even though we lack a complete list of books that he bequeathed to the library at Ely Cathedral on his death in 1581, the probate inventory of 196 books kept in his houses at Downham and Fenstanton in Cambridgeshire is instructive. Its list of seven books in the English language includes only two folios other than the *Book of Martyrs*: Holinshed's *Chronicles* and William Turner's *A New Herbal*. His Latin books attest to his familiarity with the intellectual milieu that gave rise to Foxe's martyrological history, because it includes books such as Eusebius's *Historica ecclesiastica*, the collected works of Jan Hus, John Bale's bibliographies of books by English writers, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, and Pantaleon's *Chronographia ecclesiae christianae*, which was the sequel to Foxe's 1559 Latin precursor of the *Book of Martyrs*.⁴⁰

Other Elizabethan scholars owned the *Book of Martyrs*. "Foxus actes and monumentes of the churche in two volumes" (i.e., the second edition) was an appropriate acquisition for Henry Hutchinson to add to his library of about 100 books. Prior to his appointment as a fellow and Reader in Theology at St. John's College, Oxford, which he held until his death in 1573, he had acquired an outstanding humanistic education at Merchant Taylors' School, where he joined Edmund Spenser in studying under the tutelage of Richard Mulcaster, a militantly Protestant educational theorist. Books 1 and 5 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* demonstrate the influence of Foxean martyrology. Hutchinson owned many Latin theological tomes,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 722–23.

⁴⁰ Fehrenbach, *Private Libraries*, no. 1.

but English books comprised a larger proportion of his collection than those kept at Bishop Cox's country houses. Most of these vernacular titles consist of Protestant theology and propaganda compatible with the *Book of Martyrs*. Another fellow of St. John's, Robert Singleton, demonstrated similar theological inclinations. Nevertheless, his possession of "Foxii Martires latine" (i.e., *Rerum*), rather than the *Book of Martyrs*, is appropriate to the reading of a scholar whose 1577 probate inventory included only a handful of vernacular titles.⁴¹

Among university-educated clerics, the *Book of Martyrs* clearly attracted a readership that mirrors Foxe's own distinction between "true" and "false" readers. In addition to Protestants such as Bishop Cox and the two fellows of St. John's College, it attracted the attention of hostile Catholic readers such as Nicholas Harpsfield and Robert Parsons (see above). It also drew the attention of Erastians who complied with the pendulum swings in religion during the reigns of Henry VIII and his offspring. Andrew Perne represents an outstanding instance of a reader of this kind. After preaching in support of the adoration of religious images, Perne had recanted this position during the reign of Edward VI. The *Book of Martyrs* reports that he then conformed to the Roman Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary I, under whom he received appointment as Master of Peterhouse and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University. He earned notoriety among zealous Protestants by presiding over the posthumous heresy condemnation of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius. Following the accession of Elizabeth I, he readily subscribed to the religious settlement of 1559. The contents of his library, the largest at Cambridge, were largely in Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, he acquired two copies of Foxe's martyrological history.⁴² The first edition contains a transcript of the vituperative sermon that Perne preached at the public burning of both the books and the exhumed bones of Bucer and Fagius,⁴³ but its absence in later editions minimizes the humiliation of this scholar. It is appealing to speculate that a reader, possibly Perne himself, pored over this passage by candlelight, because a flame has burned a hole in the "incriminating page" of his personal copy of the 1576 version.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 103, 130.

⁴² Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, no. 164.

⁴³ 1563, p. 1547.

⁴⁴ Perne Library, Peterhouse, E.11.17. See Patrick Collinson, "Andrew Perne and His Times," in *Andrew Perne: Quatercentenary Studies*, ed. Patrick Collinson, David McKitterick, and

The library of Samuel Jeake the Elder (1623–90) is instructive because he gathered about 2,100 books in a provincial collection remote from both London and the universities. This lawyer, preacher, and town clerk at Rye led a nonconformist congregation as late as 1669. Although his library has been broken up and few books remain, his manuscript register constitutes an important record of English radicalism during the 1640s and 1650s. Of the few books valued at more than 20s, his copy of the 1632 version of the *Book of Martyrs* was evaluated at £3. Reading it as a source concerning English ecclesiastical history, he preserved a handwritten extract among his manuscripts.⁴⁵ With reference to Jeake's collection of Leveller, Digger, and Quaker tracts, it is worthy of note that Gerrard Winstanley, a founder of the Digger community at St. George's Hill, supplemented his near-exclusive reliance on the Bible by citing the *Book of Martyrs* as a source in one of his early Leveling pamphlets: *The Breaking of the Day of God* (1648). His reference to the Marian burnings as the outstanding instance of the unjust fusion of ecclesiastical and temporal authority is in keeping with his view of himself and his associates as members of the "true" church continuous with the primitive church in the manner celebrated by Foxe.⁴⁶

Individuals at different levels in the social order also read or heard readings from publicly accessible copies of the *Book of Martyrs* chained alongside the Bible, John Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*, and Erasmus's *Paraphrases of the New Testament*. Robert Parsons accordingly complained that their placement "in very many parish Churches, and other publike places, have byn causes of infinite spirituall hurt, to many thousand soules of our countrey."⁴⁷ The cramped conditions of public sites no doubt encouraged the reading of selected stories, rather than consecutive reading of the text at large. Indeed, Foxe's account of the reading of the Great Bible at St. Paul's Cathedral suggests that communal reading of it and other chained books, such as the *Book of Martyrs*, was a performative activity that entertained at the same time that it edified (see Figure 30):

Elisabeth Leedham-Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Michael Hunter, et al., ed., *A Radical's Books: The Library Catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1623–90* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. xiii–xxiv, xxxvi, lix, 86–87; citing p. 315. This book contains a transcription of Jeake MS 4, Rye Museum Association.

⁴⁶ Thomas W. Hayes, "Gerrard Winstanley and Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" *Notes and Queries* new series 24 (1977), pp. 209–12.

⁴⁷ Parsons, *Treatise*, 3.401.

Many well disposed people used much to resort to the hearyng thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voyce to read unto them . . . it happened amongst divers and sondry godly disposed persons, whiche frequented there the readyng of the foresayd Bible, that one *John Porter* used somtimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifyng as well of hym selfe, as of other . . . The Bible then beyng set up . . . uppon divers pillers in Paules Church, fixed unto the same with chaines for all men to read in them that woulde, great multitudes would resort thether to heare this *Porter*, because hee coulde read well and had an audible voyce. (1570, p. 1381)

In order to deter readers from unwanted borrowing, authorities chained books to walls, lecterns, and heavy wooden desks. This practice reflects their considerable value and relative scarcity during the early modern era. Hereford Cathedral houses a rare example of an intact library in which about 1,500 books are still chained in place. It preserves two copies of Foxe's martyrology including a copy of the sixth edition that bears a shelf mark on the fore-edge in accordance with the older practice of shelving books with the spine inward in order to allow for their removal and placement on desks without tangling the chain by turning it around. The other copy is badly tattered from heavy use.⁴⁸ Chaining of books within a locked armarium (i.e., Lat. "cupboard or chest") constituted another means for protecting them in public or semi-public locations. Also known as an ambry, almary, or almary, this type of bookcase functioned in the manner of a locked repository for protecting valuables. Because of its great weight, a sturdy locked case filled with heavy books functioned in the manner of a safe.

Ecclesiastical libraries like the one at Hereford Cathedral, which addressed the needs of a clerical readership, acquired a substantial number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies of the *Book of Martyrs*. Nevertheless, the rarity of extant copies in cathedral libraries suggests that a high rate of attrition existed, despite the fact that the folio is the least ephemeral book format.⁴⁹ In addition to three copies at Westminster Abbey, present-day cathedral libraries preserve five copies at Peterborough, five at Canterbury, two apiece at Durham, Lincoln, Rochester, and Wells, and one apiece at Exeter and Ripon. The collection at Wells also contains a copy of Bright's *Abridgment*.⁵⁰ Remnants of a chained copy survived into

⁴⁸ Hereford Cathedral, Old Library, D.4.13–14, G.23.9.

⁴⁹ See Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1931), p. 85.

⁵⁰ David Newcombe, "Appendix: A Finding List of Extant Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Editions of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," in *JFER*, pp. 306–30. Containing over 500 entries

the 1820s at Manchester Cathedral, in company with publicly available copies of Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England* and Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.⁵¹

We often cannot tell when copies came into libraries, but the rate of survival into modern times of the collection at Lambeth Palace Library, which preserves six vernacular copies in addition to a single copy of *Rerum*, suggests that this archive possessed one of the largest, if not the largest, early modern collections in England. It also houses six copies on deposit from Sion College, all but one of which were donated in 1910 by its past president, Josiah W. Pratt, who edited the *Book of Martyrs* during the nineteenth century (1870, 1877). If we acknowledge the fact that the Great Fire of London consumed a large part of the Sion collection, however, it seems likely that its pre-1660 collection, which incorporated books previously kept at St. Paul's Cathedral, was quite sizeable. Indeed the "Sion College Book of Benefactors, 1629–1888" records that Randolph Pickering, citizen and haberdasher of London, gave a copy of the 1596 edition to the preachers' library in 1630. In 1658 Jane Maynard, wife of John Maynard, Sergeant at Law, donated the 1631–32 version. A merchant and vintner named Mathew Forster contributed a copy of Henry Bull's edition of *Comfortable Letters*, a major source for the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs*, in 1646. The three-volume edition donated to the library in 1705 by John Lawson, Doctor of Physic, is no longer extant.⁵² Of post-fire benefactions, the copy of the ninth donated in 1711 by Thomas James, a printer of Minchin Lane, remains in the collection.⁵³

In addition, church libraries at the town and parish level owned copies of Foxe's martyrology. Very often they acquired them as pious benefactions. One Robert Lampkin, Jr., donated a copy of the fifth edition to North Creake parish, Norfolk, in 1597. A townsman named William Clyatt

for the pre-1700 unabridged Latin and English editions, in addition to Bright's *Abridgment*, this list is not exhaustive. For example, it includes only two out of thirty-nine copies preserved at OSU. We are unable to determine the exact dates of acquisition of cathedral copies in most cases, but shelf marks suggest that many were acquired before 1700. These cathedral copies are on deposit at the University of Cambridge and Leeds University. The finding list located under "Resources" at the University of Sheffield page of the British Academy John Foxe Project (<http://www.shef.ac.uk/uni/projects/bajfp/>) lists additional copies of *Commentarii* and *Rerum*, in addition to copies of the first four editions of *A&M*, including those at OSU.

⁵¹ Richard Copley Christie, *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire* (Manchester: Charles E. Simms for the Chetham Society, 1885), pp. 49–50; and Henry J. Cowell, *The Four Chained Books being the Story of the Four Books ordered to be "set up" in the Parish Churches of England* (London: Kingsgate Press, 1938), p. 7.

⁵² Lambeth Palace, Sion Collection, uncatalogued vellum MS, pp. 10, 46, 79, 106.

⁵³ Sion Collection, ARC A82.76 / F83 (1684).

donated a copy of the 1610 version to a preachers' library located in a former dormitory of Blackfriars Abbey at Ipswich. A 1618 inventory assessed its value at £2 14s. It was originally chained to a shelf for safekeeping. This foundation originated with a 1599 bequest of William Smart, a merchant whose father, Richard, had lodged a heresy accusation against the wife of an Ipswichman named Peter Moone. The *Book of Martyrs* cites the "godly repentaunce" of the elder Smart following the death of Mary I as an instance of the "marvellous mercy of God" (1583, p. 1942). A sense of familial atonement may have informed the younger Smart's bequeathal of a chest containing medieval manuscripts and an endowment for the acquisition of books. Theology dominated early acquisitions for this Ipswich collection, but it also included copies of an Ortelius atlas, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, and Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.⁵⁴

In the Borough of Leicester, parochial and municipal authorities collaborated in maintaining a non-lending library funded by a 1587 endowment. Although its collection was open to the public, we know that it catered to the needs of "Ministers of Worth and Learning" because its keeper, Jacob Bauthumley, compiled an abridgment of the *Book of Martyrs* that circulated in manuscript among local preachers. He decided to publish a printed edition under the title of *A Brief Historical Relation of . . . Persecutions of the Church of Christ* (1676) for the edification of "men of meaner sort" throughout the country, who had never "seen the great Book it self" nor were "able to purchase the grand Book it self." It seems likely that his target readership included nonconformists, who viewed Hebrews 11 as a seminal text. In gathering selected stories about early Christian martyrs, this one-time Ranter declares that "the Spirit of God in the Eleventh of the *Hebrews* gives us a large Catalogue of the Sufferers in the first Ages of the World, and for what end, as may be conceived, but to perpetuate their memories, and to encourage others that might suffer in the latter ages?" (A6^{r-v}).⁵⁵

None of the aforementioned ecclesiastical foundations were public libraries. Indeed, scholars have overestimated the accessibility of the *Book of Martyrs* to the reading public during the early modern era on the basis of a misunderstanding of the 1571 directive of the upper house of the

⁵⁴ John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided For the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 1–2, 9–17, 28, 111.

⁵⁵ See King, *Milton and Religious Controversy*, pp. 173–76; and Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (London: The Library Association, 1966), p. 249. See also pp. 156–57, above.

Convocation of Canterbury that deans acquire copies for cathedral churches and that prelates keep copies for reading in their households. Even though Parliament failed to ratify this order, many parishes acted in the spirit of the 1570 instructions from the Privy Council that parish churches acquire copies.⁵⁶ We do not know the length of print runs for sixteenth-century editions, furthermore, but it seems unlikely that enough copies remained outside of private or institutional ownership for every parish church in England to have acquired one. Belief in its universal accessibility at the parish level disregards the acquisition of copies inaccessible to the reading public by well-funded individuals, guildhalls, colleges, schools, and other corporate entities. One historian observes, furthermore, that he has encountered no “evidence for the purchase of a copy” in his extensive examination of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century parish records.⁵⁷

Because churches received many copies of the *Book of Martyrs* in the form of pious donations from parishioners or former parishioners as far away as London, we should not be surprised to learn that purchase records are frequently absent from church wardens' account books. It seems reasonable to infer that the original rate of acquiring copies varied at a ratio inverse to their poor survival rate. The relative rarity of parish copies that survive to the present day tends to suggest that members of the public read chained copies to pieces rather than that copies never existed in parishes. Parish accounts occasionally provide evidence that the *Book of Martyrs* was indeed read in local churches. Records preserved at Loose parish in Kent record, for example, a 1625 payment “for clasps” associated with its copy of Foxe's martyrology. The church wardens' account at Holy Trinity Church in Milton Regis parish, Kent, records a 30 June 1708 payment to “Mr. lance for to pay Mr. Nath: Sackette for a book of martyrs and monuments of the church in 3 volumes in folio, lettered on the cover of each volume as per bill, £3 3s. 0d.” As late as the 1920s, a few tattered copies of the *Book of Martyrs* survived *in situ* at churches in London such as St. Andrew's Undershaft, Chelsea Old Church, and St. Clement's Eastcheap, where a copy was still chained to a lectern.⁵⁸ It seems certain that it was among nine books affixed to a desk in Wootton Wawen parish church in 1693.⁵⁹ A 1715 bequest from Dr. William Brewster allowed for

⁵⁶ See pp. 112–13, above.

⁵⁷ N. J. G. Pounds, review of *JFHW*, in *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 37 (2002), p. 72.

⁵⁸ Reginald Arthur Rye, *The Students' Guide to the Libraries of London* (London: University of London Press, 1927), p. 18.

⁵⁹ Streeter, *Chained Library*, pp. 290–92.

the chaining of 285 books for public reading in the vestry of All Saints' Church, Hereford. These copies remained in place on the eve of the Second World War.⁶⁰ A partly disbound copy of a sixteenth-century edition exists at Monks Kirby parish in Warwickshire, and other sixteenth-century copies survive at All Saints' parish, South Cave, Yorkshire and St. Edmund's parish in Exeter. Seventeenth-century copies remain extant at parishes at Chipping Camden (1641), Halifax (1610), Heversham (Cumbria) (1610), Ottery St. Mary (1684), Slaithwaite (1641), Stainmore (Cumbria) (1610), St. Stephens (Cornwall) (1684), and Whalley (Lancashire), where a copy of the 1684 edition still survives chained alongside the 1611 edition of the complete works of John Jewel. Other seventeenth-century editions are preserved at Ilton parish in Somerset, Kingsteignton parish in Devonshire, and Little Petherick parish in Cornwall.⁶¹ Copies of the 1563, 1576, and 1641 editions survive at the parish library of St. Botolph's church in Foxe's home town of Boston.⁶²

If one allows for the widespread loss or destruction of parish records, surviving early modern inventories that record ownership of many copies at a few parishes in Lancashire alone suggest that acquisition of copies by parishes throughout Britain was widespread. In accordance with common practice, the *Book of Martyrs* was frequently chained alongside copies of the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, and Book of Homilies for public consumption. The parish library of Astley Church preserved a ninth edition in company with theological texts. The Priory of St. Mary at Cartmel owned two copies of the martyrological history in 1629, of which a fragmentary copy of the 1610 version was still chained in place in 1702. Parish records indicate that Kirkham Church owned two copies, including one "given to the parish before 1600 and sent from London by John Cowban now dwelling . . . one mile from Canterbury and born in Kellemer within the parish." In 1662, furthermore, "Wm. Eccleston of Cornah Row [was] ordered to be sued if he did not return the Book of Martyrs he had taken from the Church." A 1776 edition of the *Book of Martyrs* remained in place more than a century later. At least until the late nineteenth century, a copy of an undesignated edition was still chained in place at

⁶⁰ Cowell, *Four Chained Books*, p. 7.

⁶¹ Newcombe, "Appendix," pp. 319, 323, 326, 328. These are often on deposit at libraries and not actually at the parishes. Additional information on parish copies can be found at "Access to Archives: The English Strand of the UK Archives Network" (<http://www.a2a.org.uk/>).

⁶² Shelf marks E4.12A, E.4.12, and U.W.37 (vol. 3 only). The second copy is of nineteenth-century provenance.

Leyland Parish Church alongside Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England* and Gibson's *A Preservative Against Popery*.⁶³

By the mid-seventeenth century, copies of the Bible, the *Book of Martyrs*, and other godly books had attained a quasi-iconic status that filled a vacuum left behind by waves of iconoclasm that swept England during the previous century. In place of the celebration of Masses for the dead in chantries that underwent dissolution during the reign of Edward VI, gifts of books and libraries served to memorialize the piety of evangelical donors. The benefaction of libraries in Lancashire by Humphrey Chetham (d. 1653) is an outstanding example. His will established a munificent endowment for the foundation of the oldest public library in the English-speaking world.⁶⁴ With no more than a grammar school education, he made his fortune as a merchant, a manufacturer of woolen goods, and an investor in real estate. Of the two copies presently preserved at Chetham's Library, one was acquired from the parish library at Gorton. It was funded out of one of five separate bequests of £200, which underwrote the chaining of "godly English books" for reading by ordinary people at desks, pillars, or other convenient sites at five churches in Manchester, where Chetham resided, or its environs. Chetham's endowments enabled parish libraries at Gorton, Turton Tower, and Walmsley to acquire copies of the *Book of Martyrs* at a cost of 38–40s per copy at some point prior to the Restoration.⁶⁵ Of the two surviving libraries, the one from Gorton church is now housed at Chetham's Library. Many of its books remain in the original wooden armarium or chest to which the books were chained (Figure 3). It bears a carved inscription that acknowledges that it was "THE GIFT OF HUMPHREY CHETHAM ESQUIRE 1655." The Gorton parish copy of the *Book of Martyrs* is now in the general collection of Chetham's Library, presumably because the parish library outgrew the capacity of the armarium.⁶⁶

The Chetham benefactions supply a model for the enduring manner in which parish churches, grammar schools, and public libraries have continued to acquire copies of Foxe's book through donations or bequests. Because copies tend to gravitate into institutional ownership, fewer and fewer examples come on the market at auctions or antiquarian bookshops.

⁶³ Christie, *Libraries of Lancashire*, pp. 74–75, 77, 90, 99–101.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 320, 323.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59, 65.

⁶⁶ Clare Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 61–62. For further information, I am indebted to Michael Powell, Librarian, Chetham's Library.

Benefactors often donated books in order to enrich education in their native towns. Many benefactions came from individuals who succeeded at business after migrating to London from the provinces. In Chetham's case, he made his fortune and founded his public library in his home town of Manchester. In Lancashire alone, three schools record the preservation of donated copies in their libraries. For example, Bolton School preserves an armarium that came from a recipient of a Chetham benefaction, the parish church at Bolton-on-the-Moors. It still contains a library made up of more than fifty books, all but three of which are chained to hinged rods attached to the bookcase. In the manner of the Gorton armarium that commemorates the benefaction of Humphrey Chetham, a carved legend acknowledges that the Bolton armarium was "THE GIFT OF MR JAMES LEAVER CITISON OF LONDON 1694" (Figure 4). The shelf at the top was reserved for the copy of the *Book of Martyrs* that he donated, because its volumes are "too high to stand upright on the shelves."⁶⁷ Bound in calfskin with metal bosses and corner plates, which protected the book when placed on the shelf, each volume bears a brass plate with the following inscription: "The gift of James Lever Citizen of London, 1694." One volume retains the original chain. A 1679 inventory of books acquired by Hawkshead Grammar School includes the following entry for a first edition of the *Book of Martyrs*: "This booke was given on the 28th day of October 1670 by Mr. William Gibbon Treasurer of Christ Church Hospitall in London to the Free Grammar Schoole in Hawkshead in the County of Lancaster upon the desire and request of Mr. Daniel Rawlinson Cittizen and Vintner of London who was borne in the said parish." The 1848 catalog of Kirkham Grammar School, which was founded in 1725 under the terms of the will of Dr. W. Grimbaldeston, includes a copy of the *Book of Martyrs* among about 300 copies of classical and theological books.⁶⁸

Little evidence is available concerning the provenance of copies at non-ecclesiastical libraries, but we do know that a significant number ended up in collections associated with nonconformist or dissenting groups. They include Dr. Williams's Library in London, which owns five copies, and the Huguenot Society and Library of the Society of Friends, each of which owns one. The Unitarian affiliation of Harris Manchester College of Oxford University is appropriate to its preservation of two copies of the *Book of Martyrs* in its collection of early evangelical books. After all

⁶⁷ Streeter, *Chained Library*, pp. 299–302.

⁶⁸ Christie, *Libraries of Lancashire*, pp. 115–16, 119–20, 146–47, 179–80.

Jan Hus, who occupies a central place in Foxe's martyrological history, is revered by Unitarians.

Lawyers had an opportunity to read copies at the libraries of the Inner Temple and Middle Temple in London. Some of them owned personal copies, such as Samuel Jeake the Elder of Rye (see above). Furthermore, a copy of the eighth edition that contains elegant hand-rulings was inscribed during the year of publication by "Roger Hill of the Inner Temple London 3. August 164i." A handwritten note in the subsection of the index for words beginning with *Con* adds an entry for "The forme of y^e Condemnation of y^e Martirs pronounced by the Bishops. Vol: 3. p: 125. c:1." It would have been appropriate for a lawyer to supplement the printed text with this notation during the period of anti-prelatical controversy that swirled as the House of Commons debated the "root and branch" petition to abolish episcopacy.⁶⁹ A notation by Robert Dormer of Lincoln's Inn indicates that he acquired both volumes of the 1610 version on 25 April 1700. He signed himself as "Judge Dormer" on the illuminated title page of this handsomely bound edition, whose calfskin covers bear the initials of an earlier owner (SW). This opulent copy is notable for elegant red rulings drawn by hand.⁷⁰

Other copies once owned by parishes or private individuals have gravitated into college, university, and independent research libraries by loan, gift, or bequest. Although we have little information about the provenance of the many copies preserved at great research libraries founded after 1700 (e.g., the British Library, John Rylands University Library, Folger Shakespeare Library, and Henry E. Huntington Library), we do know that two out of the thirteen copies at the British Library come from the bequest of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846), the statesman and book collector, whose collection consists of more than 20,000 volumes containing in excess of 16,000 books. His library is notable for incunabula, including Gutenberg's forty-two-line Bible (c. 1455) and Shakespeare's First Folio (1623).

Aside from the aforementioned research libraries, the leading repositories of hand-press editions of the *Book of Martyrs* are libraries at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It is important to remember that early librarians such as Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library, were committed to collecting books in learned languages rather than the vernacular. Many, if not most, hand-press editions therefore entered college and university collections through nineteenth- and

⁶⁹ BL G 3330–32.

⁷⁰ Bodl. Douce F subt. 4–5.

twentieth-century benefactions or purchases. Relatively few copies at the Bodleian and other libraries bear early fore-edge marks that enabled users to locate copies that were placed spine inward on bookshelves.⁷¹ We encounter three in the collection of John Selden (1584–1654), the eminent jurist, antiquarian, and collector of manuscripts and printed books. Numbering about 8,000 volumes, his bequest was the largest single collection added to the Bodleian during the seventeenth century. Divided into theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and the arts, these books are housed in the Selden End (i.e., west wing) of Duke Humphrey's Library. Selden played a prominent role in pursuing parliamentary proceedings against Archbishop Laud and Charles I. He then attempted to exercise a moderating influence within the Westminster Assembly, which consisted largely of presbyterian divines. He rejected not only the authority of the bishop-martyrs, but also the Foxean ideal of "godly" rule by a Christian prince.⁷² The Bodleian Library also preserves four copies bequeathed by Francis Douce (1757–1834), the antiquarian book collector who served at one time as keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum. His collection contained in excess of 18,000 manuscripts and printed books. The second owner of one of the two Douce copies of the 1563 edition, Michael Serolen, acquired it in 1594. He may have commissioned the binding, which is possibly of German provenance. A bequest from Robert Mason (1783–1841), D. D., of Queen's College, Oxford, enabled the Bodleian to purchase three copies as part of a collection that includes thousands of rare early modern books.

Of the many examples in college libraries at the University of Oxford, the foremost are the donation copies of the first and second editions that John Foxe presented to Magdalen College at a time when his old friend, Laurence Humphrey, served as its president. Foxe, Humphrey, and other associates, Robert Crowley and Henry Bull, had been fellows of Magdalen during the 1530s and 1540s. The copy of the first edition, which Foxe donated at the behest of Garbrand Harkes, a bookseller in Oxford, contains a letter in which the compiler apologizes for the vernacularity of the book. If Foxe entered the handwritten corrections, as seems likely, they attest to the care with which he proofread the text.⁷³ A Latin inscription

⁷¹ Ian Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 12, 32. See Paul Morgan, *Oxford Libraries Outside the Bodleian: A Guide* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society and the Bodleian Library, 1973), p. 166.

⁷² Bodl. ^oF.7. Th. Seld., P.1.4. Th. Seld., D.1.1–3 Th. Seld. See Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp. 110–11, 175.

⁷³ Old Library, Arch.B.I.4.13, pp. 113, 684 (mispaginated as 675), and 772. The list of errata contains an entry for the correction found on p. 675 (i.e., p. 684).

on the title page of the copy of the second edition dedicates the book to Magdalen College. Someone else signed the compiler's name on the portrait device of John Day at the end of the book, because this individual misidentified the publisher as Foxe himself. Its calf binding may be original.⁷⁴ Perhaps the most sizable collection consists of twelve copies at Foxe's *alma mater*, Brasenose College. (Its library also preserves a copy of Bright's *Abridgment*.) Nevertheless, half of them were gathered by the aforementioned William Buckley, whose collection of books by Brasenose alumni preoccupied him for seven decades across the nineteenth century. Aside from the copies that he collected, the college's earliest acquisition is a copy of the fifth edition donated in 1599 by Geoffrey Percival, Bachelor of Sacred Theology and a fellow of the college.⁷⁵

None of the copies at Cambridge University Library are known to derive from pre-1850 bequests. At Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library preserves the most important holdings related to Foxe. This seems appropriate to an institution whose Puritan leanings date to its foundation in 1584 by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, as an institution for the training of Protestant ministers. Entries in a manuscript catalog dated 27 April 1637 record a number of printed books that complement MS 260, a valuable collection of letters of the Marian martyrs that provided the basis for Henry Bull's edition of *Comfortable Letters* and for Foxe's inclusion of many martyrological letters in the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs*.⁷⁶ In addition to the Library's acquisition of a copy of the 1610 version soon after its publication, it acquired the following titles compiled or edited by Foxe: *Rerum; Eicasmī seu meditationes, in sacram Apocalypsin*; and *Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*. The presence of fore-edge shelf marks suggests that these books were originally chained in place.⁷⁷ The aforementioned Perne Collection at Peterhouse preserves two copies collected by its late sixteenth-century Master. Five copies were secured to desks at the library of King's College until librarians removed chains from its books in 1777.⁷⁸ It is worthy of note that Richard Day and Samuel Fleming, who contributed to the 1576 version, were fellows of King's College.

⁷⁴ Old Library, T.13.6-7. As "control copies," the volumes at Magdalen College represent the closest approximation to the finished state of these books according to Roberts, "Bibliographical Aspects," pp. 42-43.

⁷⁵ Brasenose College, Lath. R.4.4-5.

⁷⁶ See pp. 60-64, above.

⁷⁷ Sargent Bush, Jr., and Carl Rasmussen, *The Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1584-1637* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 91, 95, 121.

⁷⁸ Cowell, *Four Chained Books*, p. 7.

The scope of the present study does not invite exhaustive investigation of extant copies of the *Book of Martyrs*. Nevertheless, the evidence presented here does suggest that it was widely available to an intellectually stratified audience of learned and unlearned readers, and hearers, whose numbers ranged from royalty and nobility to more lowly individuals within the social order. Copies penetrated to the far corners of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.⁷⁹ Many copies were kept and read in churches, libraries, schools, and other locations. For example, a 1571 order of the Company of Stationers directed stationers to place copies at Orphans' Court and guild halls in London.⁸⁰ This directive took on added resonance when the Company took over as publisher when it absorbed the *Book of Martyrs* into the English Stock. London's Guildhall Library presently preserves copies of the 1641 and 1684 versions. The experience of Nicholas Harpsfield at the Fleet Prison and, it seems, Edmund Bonner at the Marshalsea, suggests that the reading of copies in prison was not uncommon. Indeed, Sir John Strangways, a royalist condemned of high treason, read Foxe's book during imprisonment at the Tower of London during the Civil Wars (1645–48).⁸¹ John Bunyan was not the only nonconformist preacher to read it in jail (see below). In *Eastward Ho* (1605), a satirical drama performed by boy actors at Black Friars Theater, a jailer at the Counter thus describes an imprisoned penitent with a prodigious memory: "He can tell you almost all the stories of the *Book of Martyrs*, and speak you all the *Sick Man's Salve* without book."⁸² The latter book was an exceedingly popular devotional manual compiled by Thomas Becon.

Lest we forget, an innkeeper named John Ormesbye kept a copy for public reading at the George Inn in Norwich during the reign of James I. His inventory of furnishings includes hangings, tables, dornick cloths, a "payre of oulde virginalls and the fframe," a "bible and a deske" valued at 10s, a "mapp of the worlde" at 10s, and a "fframe and the X commandents [*sic*] written" at 2s 6d. The entry for "a boocke of martirs and a deske" valued at 20s suggests that that this publican provided patrons with an opportunity to read martyrological stories as they ingested cakes and ale.⁸³

⁷⁹ Newcombe, "Appendix," pp. 306–30, *passim*.

⁸⁰ Arber, *Transcript*, 1.496.

⁸¹ Thomas G. Olsen, ed., *The Commonplace Book of Sir John Strangways (1645–1666)* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2004), p. 17.

⁸² George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. Richard W. Van Fossen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), 5.2.61–64.

⁸³ Norfolk Record Office, INV 19/145B. I am indebted to John Craig for this transcription.

It is not implausible, therefore, to learn that a seventeenth-century non-conformist named Roger Lowe reports that he read the *Book of Martyrs* as an antidote to drunkenness.⁸⁴

D. Responses of readers

From the outset, the *Book of Martyrs* earned a reputation as an exceptional book. It was not uncommon for individuals of varying financial means to own multiple copies.⁸⁵ Readers played an important role in shaping, reshaping, and responding to the *Book of Martyrs*. Diversity of interpretation accords with a “transactional model of reading” that “assumes that a single text may give rise to a plurality of possible responses, not a tidily univocal interpretation.”⁸⁶ The polemical nature of this book further complicates reception history, because it predisposes readers to respond on the basis of dogmatic religious convictions or fixed political beliefs. For obvious reasons, it was repugnant to Roman Catholic readers such as Harpsfield, Parsons, and Wilson. At the same time, its acceptance by Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestants was complicated by tensions that existed within the continuum of contemporary religious thought. The absence of a comfortable niche for moderate Puritans within the Church of England, which they attempted to reform from within, contributed to controversies among those who adhered to or opposed particular points of doctrine or ecclesiastical polity. Contradictory interpretations of Foxe's book often reflected disagreements of this kind.⁸⁷ Early on we encounter Protestant readers such as Simon Parrett and William Turner, who ground their remonstrations concerning length and editorial method on a commitment to disseminating the polemical content of this book.

The heterogeneous mass of evidence fails to substantiate monolithic beliefs concerning sharply demarcated divisions between public versus private reading, literacy versus illiteracy, and so forth. So also, the marking

⁸⁴ Woolf, *Reading History*, p. 101.

⁸⁵ The present chapter cites the following owners of two or three copies of unabridged folio editions: Arthur Annesley, William Dowsing, Sir Thomas Posthumous and Lady Margaret Hoby, Cotton Mather, Samuel Pepys, Andrew Perne, and John Selden.

⁸⁶ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,” *Past & Present* 129 (1990), p. 32.

⁸⁷ Lamont, *Godly Rule*, p. 35. For a wide-ranging consideration of religious tensions during the reigns of James I and Charles I, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

up of printed copies and extraction of substantial portions of printed text in handwritten form demonstrates the inadequacy of the old-fashioned view that manuscript and print culture represent sharply demarcated spheres.⁸⁸ The ensuing investigation of early modern approaches to the reading Foxe's massive martyrological history is based on a variety of longer or shorter case studies in chronological order. This diachronic scheme undergoes complication through the incorporation of a synchronic consideration of similarities and differences among the responses of members of different social or religio-political groups who wrote in a variety of different genres (e.g., handwritten notes, commonplace books, diaries, printed adaptations, sermons, or dramatizations).

We should be alert, furthermore, to other ways in which readers responded to text. In devising finding aids to supplement printed indices, they added index entries by hand⁸⁹ and inserted different kinds of book marks including pieces of rope, pins attached to pages, and slips of paper or vellum affixed to pages by pins. Ink blots and drops of candle wax that found their way onto pages or into book gutters reveal that individuals read in the absence of natural light or wrote as they read. Torn pages were sometimes sewn together by hand. Bits of detritus including seeds, nutshells, and other items show that consumption of food accompanied readings. Readers and non-readers stained pages and entered dates, doodles, pictures, practice strokes, dates, miscellaneous notes, and signatures. In the manner of Bibles, some copies contained entries of the births of family members. Heavy use is reflected by the common absence of book covers, the weathering of pages at which books were left open, and the loss of pages at the beginning or end. Heavy wear has resulted in the thinning and fraying of the bottom corners of pages in a manner that seems to reflect the heavy use of books deposited in public places. Rust marks for items left in these books constitute one of the most interesting kinds of artifactual evidence, as is the case in a copy that contains the imprints of scissors. It seems likely that an absent-minded binder lost track of them during the assembly of loose gatherings.⁹⁰

The foregoing consideration of the impact of the calendar demonstrates how editions of the *Book of Martyrs* invite at least two different models for

⁸⁸ On the interconnectedness of these media during the early modern era, see McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 23–52.

⁸⁹ We encounter a mnemonic response to close reading in the handwritten addition of the names of individuals named Lee and Paine to the index of OSU BR1600 .F6 1596b, copy 1.

⁹⁰ OSU BR1600 .F6 1563 and BR1600 .F6 1596c, copy 1. The rusty imprint of scissors is noticeable in OSU BR1600 .F6 1596, copy 1, pp. 366–67.

discontinuous reading. The first represents a simplification of the practice of liturgical reading, whereas the second directs readers indexically to stories about prominent martyrs. We encounter an alternative mode of methodical and continuous reading among those early modern Protestants who read it systematically, from beginning to end, as many people read the Bible then and now.⁹¹ Readings were accordingly heard every Sunday evening at the devotional community established by Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding.⁹² Adam Eyre, a member of the Yorkshire gentry who had served in the Parliamentary army, entered into his diary the observation that he “finished the first reading of the first vol. of y^e Booke of Martyrs” on 15 December 1647. Furthermore, Oliver Heywood noted that he joined a fellow nonconformist in methodical reading during their imprisonment in 1685: “After dinner, Mr. Whitaker and I read in turn for an hour in Fox’s Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, Latin edition. Then went to my chamber; if my wife were absent, I spent an hour in secret [i.e., private] prayer, and God helped usually. After supper, we read in the book of Martyrs, studied, went to prayer, read in Baxter’s paraphrase of the New Testament.”⁹³ Ignatius Jourdain, Member of Parliament and Mayor of Exeter, claims to have read it seven times, in addition to reading the Bible more than twenty times.⁹⁴ An accomplishment of a feat of this kind “implies a daily and nightly reading from these two sacred books.” Readers who emulate Jourdain’s practice “may well find that after perhaps twenty-five years they will have matched his performance, having read through the Bible a score of times but Foxe only seven times.”⁹⁵

The 1631–32 edition of the *Book of Martyrs* provides what we might think of as a sociological model for reading in the “Table of Tables” incorporated into the preliminary pages of the first volume. By addressing the needs of different categories of readers, it differs from other systems for discontinuous reading including the calendric and martyr-by-martyr approaches. A presbyterian cleric named Nathaniel Homes based his compilation of this “Table” on the partisan premise that “this large booke

⁹¹ Collinson, “Truth and Legend,” p. 151.

⁹² Mozley, p. 180.

⁹³ Eyre, *A Dyurnall or Catalogue of all my Accions and Expenses from the 1st of January 1646–[7]*, Surtees Society 65 (1875), p. 79; *The Whole Works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood*, vol. 1 (London, 1827), p. 273. As quoted in Freeman, ““Great searching out of bookes and autors,”” pp. 3–4.

⁹⁴ Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662), p. 453. See Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), p. 507.

⁹⁵ Collinson, “Truth and Legend,” p. 151.

of *Martyrs* is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-heape of worthlesse rubbish, but *Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum*, a Librarie of learning and learned mens Workes, making this Booke, . . . justly to be esteemed (as the learned confesse) the next of all humane-penn'd Bookes to the sacred Bible." Homes sees it like the scriptures themselves not as a single book, but as a collection of holy books whose subject matter he analyzes in terms of its suitability to "sundry sorts of Readers." This is in keeping with the derivation of the name of the Bible from τὰ βιβλία ("the books"). Seeing this table as a general readers' guide that supplements the detailed entries in "the Index . . . at the later end of the booke," he cites volume and page numbers in proposing readings appropriate to different social groups whom he organizes in terms of estate, gender, age, and vocation. They range alphabetically from antiquaries, artists, barons, and bishops, to virgins, women, and young men. It makes sense that Homes should offer profuse suggestions to divines and "Ecclesiasticall persons," but he is not inhibited by Foxe's own anxiety concerning the suitability of offering readings in the vernacular to *literati*. In addition to addressing antiquaries, casuists, and historians among learned readers, he also sees this martyrology as a book for kings and nobles, soldiers and politicians. At lower levels of the literacy hierarchy, he recommends readings to more humble individuals such as farmers, who "may here meet with wholesome countrey Divinity, in a stile sutable to their place, in the beginning of the first and third volumes; and in particular, in the complaint or prayer of the *Ploughman*," or merchants, who may "finde a rare example of one that was a martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godlinesse as gaine, for goodnesse as well as goods, in that Mirrour of pietie and patience, *William Gardner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in Portugall" [() 1–6]. Homes does not include an explicit entry for Roman Catholic readers, but his address to "Criticks" does address them by indexing passages that reject the view that "the Decretals and ordinances fathered upon the Bishops of Rome in the first 500 yeares after Christ, under the ten persecutions, are for the most part fained" [() 2^r].

This position is in keeping with Foxe's stance, because the compiler envisioned Roman Catholics as potential members of his audience. In addition to attracting controversialists such as Harpsfield and Parsons, his book drew the attention of crypto-Catholics and recusants in the population at large. In citing the *Book of Martyrs* as a source concerning Anglo-Saxon history, William Blundell may sense a Catholic nuance when he refers to King Athelstan's escape from a plot against his life as "a notable

miracle recited by John Foxe.”⁹⁶ The experience of Sir Thomas Tresham, a landed gentleman and builder, suggests that “papist” readers came under close scrutiny. He incorporated extracts from the *Book of Martyrs* among papers that he assembled in connection with his defense before the Privy Council and Star Chamber after he harbored Edmund Campion within his household in Middlesex. Except for a brief respite, Tresham spent more than a decade in prison following the apprehension of this Jesuit missionary priest in 1581. One of his papers indicates that the *Book of Martyrs* cites precedents for subjects to “appeale to their prince for mercie and reliefe.” In a letter dated 28 May 1583, Lady Tresham reports that her husband believes that his refusal to apologize for offering succor to Campion is a “singular commendation” that follows the model set “by the martyrs mentioned in Mr. Foxe.”⁹⁷ Following his release, Tresham resided at Rushton Hall in Northamptonshire and was made to pay heavy recusancy fines. It was not until the nineteenth century that his manuscripts and a large cache of Roman Catholic propaganda were discovered within a priest hole behind the walls of this house.⁹⁸ It may be that they were concealed following the implication of his son, Francis, in the Gunpowder Plot.

Homes's inclusion of a heading for women in his “Table of Tables” acknowledges that many men and women regarded the *Book of Martyrs* as particularly appropriate focus for feminine piety.⁹⁹ This is apparent in the will of Thomas Pierson, a nonconformist preacher, who left to his widow a copy of the *Book of Martyrs* and a few other books that he withheld from the 1633 bequest of his book collection to a ministerial library.¹⁰⁰ During the 1663 disposition of the will of Master Hiet, who had founded a grammar school at Croston, near Liverpool, Henry Newcombe recommended that Hiet's widow retain her late husband's copy of the *Book of Martyrs* for personal study in company with vernacular sermons and theology. This ejected minister attests: “After I saw y^e schoole w^{ch} M^r Hiet hath founded, haveinge seene his will y^s morneinge. M^{ris} Hiet desired mee to direct her in y^e choise of bookes, for by [the] will . . . his wife may take w^t shee pleaseth for her owne use. I desired to deale uprightly in the

⁹⁶ D. R. Woolf, “Little Crosby and the Horizons of Early Modern Historical Culture,” in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Kelley and Sacks, p. 126.

⁹⁷ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. 3 (London: HMSO, 1904), pp. 30, 34.

⁹⁸ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 8, and 39,830, fol. 54. A library inventory on fol. 156r of the latter manuscript lists his copy of A&M. See also “Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543–1605),” ODNB.

⁹⁹ See pp. 148–49, above.

¹⁰⁰ Freeman, ““Good Ministrye,”” p. 31.

busynes and so noted out several bookes y^t were most practical, as y^e Booke of Martyrs . . .”¹⁰¹

Writings by well-to-do women document how they integrated the *Book of Martyrs* into their daily observance of public and private prayer, meditation, attendance at church services, and reading of the Bible, printed sermons, and theology. In one of the earliest extant autobiographies written by an English woman, for example, Lady Grace Mildmay commends to her children methodical reading of the Bible and *Book of Martyrs* as ideal practices “to set ourselves in from the beginning unto the end of our lives.” She acknowledges the influence of her mother, Lady Anne Sharington (née Paget), who had “thought it ever dangerous to suffer young people to read or study books wherein was good and evil mingled together, for that by nature we are inclined rather to learn and retain the evil than the good.” (Sir Philip Sidney’s *Defense of Poetry* shares this opinion in its assertion of the superiority of poetry to history.) To this end, the only books in addition to Foxe’s martyrology that Lady Anne placed before her daughter were the Bible, *The Imitation of Christ*, and *Commonplaces of Christian Religion* by Wolfgang Musculus, the German theologian. Lady Grace’s marriage to Sir Anthony Mildmay further documents her lifelong habitation in Puritan households dedicated to “godliness” of the kind to which she attested by engaging in personal piety, contributing to the welfare of the poor, and offering medical care within her community in Northamptonshire. Her husband was the son of Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College. In addition to her manuscript autobiography, Lady Grace copied down notes for meditations in which she supplemented copious biblical citations with anti-Catholic ideas modeled on the *Book of Martyrs*. She even devised a still-born plan for extracting “some of the principal points” from Foxe’s book into a collection that she could apply “to mine own instruction, comfort and increase of faith.” Her writing documents the animus that she harbored against the substantial Roman Catholic population within the vicinity of her home. Her recusant neighbors included the aforementioned Sir Thomas Tresham, whose library contained the *Book of Martyrs* in addition to a large number of Catholic tracts.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Thomas Heywood, ed., *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663*, Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society, vol. 18 (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1849), p. 175.

¹⁰² Following the transcription of this document by Linda Pollock in *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552–1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993), pp. 23, 28, 54–55, 65.

In a similar manner, Lady Margaret Hoby (née Dakins) studied the *Book of Martyrs* within the familial and communal context of her household. We may note her lofty aristocratic connections in the fact that she received her education under the tutelage of Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon, wife of Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, who gained a reputation for patronizing Puritan intellectuals. Her first husband was Walter Devereux, son of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex (1539–76), and brother of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. As the widow of her second husband, Thomas Sidney, she was the sister-in-law of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, a pious aristocrat who completed the versification of the Book of Psalms begun by her brother, Sir Philip Sidney. Lady Hoby eventually resided at Hackness, a remote community in the North Riding near Scarborough, where her third husband, Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby, had a contentious relationship with neighboring gentry, especially those who were Catholic.

Offering considerable insight into her reading practices, the diary that Lady Hoby wrote at Hackness Hall (1599–1605) indicates that her taste in reading included little secular literature, although she did study her herbal, because she emphasized sermons, theology, and controversial pamphlets appropriate to a Puritan household. Although she was literate in the vernacular and presumably engaged in private reading, she preferred aural reception through communal readings to silent reading on her own. Indeed, the “sociality of her reading practice complicates the Protestant model of inwardness in ways that may well connect to gender.”¹⁰³ Like other women who fell under the influence of zealous divines, she had a close relationship with Master Rhodes, with whom she studied religious books and engaged in conversation on devotional topics. Among many references concerning her hearing of readings from the *Book of Martyrs* by household servants is one for 28 September 1599: “I hard one of the men read of the book of Marters.” Three days later she entered the following observation:

After privat praier I wrought [i.e., did needlework] a whill and hard Mr Rhodes read: then I brake my fast, then I walked: when I Cam in, I took a Lector [i.e., reading], praied, and went to diner: after that I walked abroade, then I Cam in and wrought, hard Mr Rhodes read, then I praied with Mr Rhodes, then I went about the house and examened my selfe [in meditation], praied, and studied my Lector,

¹⁰³ Mary Ellen Lamb, “Margaret Hoby’s Diary: Women’s Reading Practices and the Gendering of the Reformation Subject,” in *Pilgrimage for Love*, ed. Sigrid King (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), p. 75.

then to supper: after the Lector I hard Helurn read of the Book of marters, and taked with Mr Rhodes, and so went to Bed.

The close proximity of these dates suggests that she was accustomed to hearing readings during successive days or nights, which would have rendered it feasible to undertake lengthy readings such as the extended account of the life and death of Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley. Her report that “Mr Rhodes read of Latimers sarmons” on 3 July 1600 raises the prospect that she would have instructed servants to read Foxe’s account of the preacher’s career and the public disputations that preceded his burning at Oxford. On 11 June 1601, yet again, she recorded the following entry:

After privat prairs I went about the house and wrought amonge my Maides, and hard one read of the Booke of Marters: after, I walked with my Cosine Isons who Came to Vesitt me: after, I dined and, in the after non, walked againe with hir, and after we had talked a whill I went to privat praier.¹⁰⁴

Lady Hoby immersed herself in reading books that facilitated her strenuous round of daily prayer, meditation, and self-examination. She and her husband appear to have owned a sizeable library, because their habit of inscribing the format of books on their title pages suggests that they shelved them according to size. Between them, Sir Thomas and his wife owned three or more different editions of the *Book of Martyrs*. The copy from which she heard readings during the years covered by her diary is no longer extant, but two volumes extant from the 1610 and 1631–32 editions bear his signature.¹⁰⁵ A holograph designation on the title page of the first – “2: volumes: 3: li[bri]” (i.e., three volumes bound as two) – indicates that he originally owned the complete set. These books eventually passed on to Sir Philip Sydenham, a collateral descendent, who donated his book collection to Hackness parish library in 1700. The nine books that bear the signatures of Margaret or Thomas Hoby predate their respective deaths in 1633 and 1644. A manuscript catalog for the Hackness library consists of documents accumulated over the centuries. It starts with a roll of early eighteenth-century benefactions that begin with the Sydenham donation. He stipulates

¹⁰⁴ Dorothy M. Meads, ed., *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1930), pp. 46–47, 60, 74–75, 129, 175. See also Joanna Moody, ed., *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. xvi–xvii, xxxiv–xlv. These editions contain transcriptions of BL MS Egerton 2614.

¹⁰⁵ Hackness 2/1 (1 vol. of 2), 2/2 (2 vols. of 3). The Hoby copies of the *Book of Martyrs* are among the surviving books from the Hackness parish library that are now on deposit at York Minster Library.

that items in this collection are not to be lent out of the church and that they are available for use by the donors and the incumbent of the parish. An 1892 addition consists of an inventory of church furnishings that includes "A Cupboard containing a Library of Books chiefly given by the Sir Philip Sydenham Bart 1700 about 112 volumes."¹⁰⁶ We may note the sobriety of Lady Margaret's taste in the titles of extant books that bear her signature: *Four Books of the Institution and Use of the Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist* (1600), *A Treatise of the Church* (1606) by Philippe de Mornay, and John Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610).¹⁰⁷ Her husband's books include writings by Puritan divines in addition to a Latin treatise by Sir Edward Coke, the eminent jurist, and atlases by Gerhard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius.¹⁰⁸

Husbands at different levels of the literacy hierarchy selected readings in order to convey advice or instruction to wives. Robert Harris, who served as President of Trinity College, Oxford, until his death in 1658, accordingly recommended reading that would guide his widow following his death. She suffered from religious melancholia, a common affliction of Protestant women. Samuel Clarke's biography of this eminent preacher described this "constant worshipper of God" as one who "seldom rose from her prayers with dry eyes, was delivered up by God to Satan's buffetings, and to such hellish temptations, and horrors of mind, as struck a grief and terror unto all the spectators." Her fantasies "were so violent, so horrid, and withal so subtle, that they put the ablest, and most experienced men to their wit's end to answer them, and her poor self even beyond her self." In a 1636 codicil to his last will and testament, Dr. Harris refers to his bequest of a copy of the 1610 version of Foxe's martyrology in the course of extending the following advice. A skilled reader of Latin and Greek, Dr. Harris relies on the vernacularity of the *Book of Martyrs* in order to extend indirect advice to his wife, whose literacy did not extend beyond her native language:

First for you, my dear wife, you shall find the substance of that I would say to you, printed to your hand in the Book of Martyrs, vol. 2, p.1744, to wit, in John Careless his letter to his wife; keep the book, and often read the letter; only one thing I add, if you marry again, remember your own observation, viz. that second

¹⁰⁶ MS Hackness 0/0, passim. See Neil Ker, ed., *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*, rev. ed. edited by Michael Perkin (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2004), p. 224.

¹⁰⁷ Hackness 47, 57, 66.

¹⁰⁸ Hackness 2, 19, 42, 44, 45, 51, III.A.4/2, III.A.8, XIII.1.11.

husbands are very uxorious, second wives very prevalent, and therefore take heed that you do no ill office in estranging your husband from his natural children or kindred; you shall thereby draw upon him a great sin and judgment, if you kill in him natural affections: I have said, and do with all the strength and power that is in me, thank you for your faithfulness, and resign you to the Husband of Husbands, the Lord Christ.¹⁰⁹

Taking a letter by this Coventry weaver as a model, Harris cautions his wife about potential problems that may result from remarriage.¹¹⁰ After all, Careless advises his own wife, Margaret, to marry again only “if need require” after her release from vows of marriage following his death. Condemned to die because of his religious beliefs, he advises her further to educate their children as God-fearing Protestants. Strictly charging her to “match them with no Papists,” he claims that their virtue “shall be a better dowry to mary them withall, then any worldly substance.” In bidding her farewell, he prays that they will enjoy “a mery meeting together in heaven” (1610, p. 1744).

Nehemiah Wallington was a London turner at the opposite end of the intellectual and social scale from Dr. Harris, but he turned to the same letter by John Careless, among others, as a means of extending spiritual counsel to his wife. He did so in one of the many notebooks that he compiled as a means of exploring his experience for manifestations of divine providence. In addition to his wife, other members of the pious circle for whom Wallington compiled this particular book included “Alderman Adams . . . Sister Hind at Chelensford . . . Goodman Wilsmore at Notingham . . . Goodman Prestland at Takely in Essex.”¹¹¹ In all likelihood, they shared the illiteracy in learned languages of this artisan and his wife. By inserting an ellipsis in place of Careless’s caution that his widow-to-be marry again if she must – “But if you shall be able well to live Gods true widow . . . Take heede Margaret and play the wise womans part” – Wallington offers unqualified advice that his wife marry again after his death (fol. 19^v). Given the spiritual distress suffered by Dr. Harris’s wife, that learned divine would surely have subscribed to Wallington’s desire “to admonish and to Comfort the troubled Spirit” (fol. 5^v) in one of many manuscripts that open a unique window into the

¹⁰⁹ Clarke, *The Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, 3rd ed. (1677), 2.324–25, 336.

¹¹⁰ See Freeman, “Good Ministrye,” p. 15.

¹¹¹ BL Sloane MS 922, fols. 1^r, 2^r, 4^v–5^r, 18^r–19^v, 205^v, 209^v. Paul S. Seaver does not comment on this manuscript in *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), but he does note that Wallington’s mother appears to have memorized passages from *A&M* (p. 74).

consciousness of Puritan readers who lived during the tumultuous era of the English Civil Wars.

This 209-leaf manuscript collection of “many pious, holy Godly and Christian Letters” bears the following inscription: “Nehemiah Wallington his Booke 1650.” This date supplies a *terminus ad quem* for a collection that he began in 1635, when he was thirty-seven-years old (fols. 1^v-2^r, 209v). His transcriptions of a dozen letters from the *Book of Martyrs* fill sixteen pages. After the aforementioned letter, he accordingly declares: “There be many more sweet letters of this Marter of Jesus Christ John Careles which you may see in the Book at Large” (fol. 19^v). In addition to letters of the martyrs, whose titles he changes in order to suggest edifying applications, he transcribes sententious precepts and material from the Pauline epistles. In addressing this book “To All Readers,” therefore, Wallington adduces many good reasons for reading this manuscript: “Some are to instruct and advise, Some to reprove and admonish Some are sweete and comfortable & some are to stir up to praise and thankfulness They be all ~~usefull~~ very usefull & profitable” (fol. 2^r). Wallington gives pride of place to the Bible by opening this collection of letters with a transcription from the Second Epistle of St. John. Next in importance are selected epistles of the Marian martyrs, for which he provides this introductory note: “Heere be some Letters of those that Suffered for the Cause of God where you may see many more at Large in the Booke of Mar[t]eres” (fol. 6^r). This notation suggests that he wrote this manuscript not to supplant, but to supplement, reading the printed edition. He explains further that insufficient time and space force him to abridge selections: “And in regard some of the letters be very Large I shall write but some part of them” (fol. 6^v). A postscript looks back on this notebook by providing readers with a rough-and-ready index with folio citations to locate “2 Rules to fund [i.e., find] whither God be with us or no,” “3 Motives why we should barr ye losse of Relations,” “3 Rules for Comfort,” “6 Causes of Sadnesse in the worship of God,” “4 Observations of ye danger in immoddarat Sorrow,” “4 Causes of Comfort,” and “4 Ways we suffer as a Christian” (fol. 205v).

Wallington constructs this manuscript as a patriarchal collection in that he excludes letters written by female correspondents of the Marian martyrs. Instead, he confines his selection to letters written by men both to their wives and to male and female relatives and friends. Thus he proceeds with “a copy of some part of M^r Saunders Letter to his wife [in] 1555,” which concerns maintenance of trust in God despite adversity. A second letter adds a domestic request for her to sew a shirt for him to wear when he is burnt alive (fols. 7^r-9^r). Another transcription consists of

a farewell letter from “M^r Saunders to M^r Robert and John G[l]over written the same morning that he was burnt” (fol. 9^v). Having copied a letter in which John Hooper counseled friends to maintain faith despite pain and adversity, Wallington regrets that because this martyr wrote many lengthy letters from prison, “I forbear to Coppie them out.” Because of the great length of “a very sweet profitable Letter” that Rowland Taylor wrote to his wife, moreover, “I am necessitated to passe it by also” (fols. 10^r-11^v). This copyist does duplicate part of a pre-execution letter in which Thomas Hawkes abstracted Bible lessons for his wife, whom he addresses as his “deare yoke fellow,” concerning the proper upbringing of devout children (fols. 12^r-13^v). Wallington supplies a reading appropriate to family members in general by excerpting “Some part of a letter of M^r Bradford to his Mother a godly matron, dwelling in Manchester and to his bretheren & Sisters and others of his friendes there.” He regrets that he possesses “neither time nor space” to copy the entirety of the massive correspondence that this minister wrote from prison (fol. 14^{r-v}).

Of particular interest is Wallington’s selection of “A sententious Letter of Robert Smith to Anne Smith his wife” in which the imprisoned writer gathers sententia such as “Seeke first to Love God deare wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easie to love your neighbor” and “If you will Love God, hate evill, and ye shall obtaine the reward of well doing.” Signing himself as “your Husband Robert Smith,” he concludes this message with this poignant valedictory epigram:

If ye will meet with me againe
Forsake not Christ for any paine (fol. 15^{r-v})

Moving on to Robert Glover, Wallington explains that because “I would not be to[o] tedious to my selfe and others,” he only extracts “some touch” of a letter in which the martyr recounts “the whole discourse of his troubles sustained in prison and of his conflicts between the Bishop and him about Religion” (fols. 16^r-17^v). In two letters, John Rough writes from prison to offer consolation to fellow believers who are persecuted on the outside (fols. 20^r-21^v). In the final prison letter copied by Wallington, Cuthbert Symson assures his wife that regardless of its unfathomability, persecution constitutes part of the divine plan: “For it is eyther a correction for our sinne, or a try[a]ll of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together; pray; maintain faith” (fol. 22^r). Wallington then concludes his collection of epistles with this regretful note: “O the many more precious and sweet Letters very usefull and profitable is there of the Saints of God in the Book

of Marters Which are very larg that neither space nor time will suffer mee to proseed any funder to write them out" (fol. 22^v).

Nehemiah Wallington is not the only reader who was impressed by poetry written by Robert Smith. This is apparent from an inscription written by a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century reader who supplements the printed text of an epistolary poem that Foxe incorporates at the end of the 1563 version of the martyrology of the prison-poet. Beneath the woodcut that portrays Smith and his fellow prisoners, the anonymous annotator writes in the following verses (see Figure 35):

Feare not for death passe not for bandes
 only in God put thy whole trust:
 for he will require thy bloud at theire handes,
 and this thou doost knowe y^t once dye y^u must
 Only for Christ thy sealf if thou give
 death is no death but a meanes to live
 And doo not despaire:
 Of no worldly tyraunt be thou adreade,
 for Gods worde thy compasse shall thee leade¹¹²

Even though the initial quatrain of this handwritten addendum is variously ascribed to John Hooper and John Careless,¹¹³ the annotator's association of it with this woodcut represents a fitting response to the martyrology that contains more verse than any other in the collection. If this annotation results from misattribution of the poetry to Smith, this reader was probably working from memory or a handwritten copy of the poem, rather than the printed text of Bull's edition of *Comfortable Letters*, which ascribes the verses to Careless. An alternative possibility is that the annotator is using these verses to compare Smith's experience with that of Hooper or Careless. They might simply provide an *ex tempore* representation of the annotator's state of mind. Regardless of the purpose of this marginal inscription, it illustrates the continuity between manuscript and print circulation during the early modern era. By offering the consolatory assurance that martyrdom will lead to everlasting life – "death is no death but a meanes to live" – this inscription exemplifies an eloquent variation of the familiar response of readers who inserted brief tags from conventional speeches into empty banderoles. These readers all employ handwritten notations in order to satisfy the expectation that martyrological

¹¹² OSU BR1600 .F6 1563, p. 1260.

¹¹³ Ringler, *Bibliography and Index*, no. 394; and Bull, ed., *Comfortable Letters*, pp. 639–40.

woodcuts undergo completion through the addition of memorable dying words.¹¹⁴

The woodcuts commissioned by John Day registered a profound impression on Sir Francis Drake, who lacked formal education even though his father is said to have taught him to read and write. The mariner carried a copy of the 1576 *Book of Martyrs* on the Golden Hind during his circumnavigation of the globe (1577–80). The woodcuts were colored by hand. The seaman's emphasis on the antipapal illustrations affords insight into the reading habits of a nationalistic Englishman, whose royally sanctioned privateering led to raids on ports in both Old and New Spain. His reading placed great emphasis on Foxe's attacks on papal appropriation of political authority and persecution of Protestant martyrs. As such, it constituted a stirring endorsement of monarchical supremacy over the Church of England. Indeed, the apocalyptic mindset that informed Drake's depredations against Spain corresponds to the Balearic vision of conflict between "true" and "false" churches that suffuses the *Book of Martyrs*. The seaman is supposed to have written a familiar letter to John Foxe during the period leading up to the sailing of the Spanish Armada, whose defeat would enhance Drake's status as a national hero. In it he vows "by Gods furtheraunce to proceede by all the good meanes we can devise to prevent theyr comming." Even though this letter may articulate Drake's fervent religio-nationalistic sentiments, it is unlikely that this relatively uneducated man supplied the exact words of this eloquent printed document.¹¹⁵

It was during a 1579 incursion into the Mexican port of Guatulco that Drake insulted Catholic inhabitants by displaying what seem to have been propagandistic woodcuts in his copy of the *Book of Martyrs*. Simon de Miranda, a Spanish cleric held captive during the mariner's unwelcome visit, made the following report during an inquest: "The said Francis Drake had a large book brought to him and read it for some time. He said it was to them what the Bible is to us. It contained many illuminated pictures of the Lutherans who had been burnt in Spain." This deposition may mistakenly locate in Spain scenes that occurred elsewhere, such as the death of William Gardiner at an auto-da-fé in Lisbon (Figure 36). Miranda went on to declare that the sea captain "spoke much evil of the

¹¹⁴ On the widespread practice of manuscript supplementation of woodcuts, see McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 68–77, 84–87.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Greepe, *The True and Perfect News of the Worthy and Valiant Exploits, Performed and Done by that Valiant Knight Sir Francis Drake* (1587), C3^v–4^r. See Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis*

Supreme Pontiff and said that he who would live six years longer would see what would happen, for not a friar was to remain alive. He also said 'How can it be tolerated that a prince or monarch is to kiss the foot of the Pope?' This is a swindle, and Saint Peter did not do thus." This testimony may refer to the woodcut in "The Proud Primacie of Popes" that portrays an emperor kneeling to kiss the slipper of an enthroned pontiff. According to another witness, a harbormaster named Francisco Gomez Rengifo, Drake pointed out woodcuts of martyrdom and antipapal material from what sounds like the same book: "And, saying this, he opened it again, after having already shut it, and said to this witness: 'Look at this book. You can see here those who were martyred in Castille,' and he pointed out to this witness a figure representing a fire and a man therein, and he said 'that this represented those who had been martyred and burnt in Castille.' Turning over the pages of the book he showed [the] witness, further on, another picture which he said 'figured the astounding [arrogance] of the Supreme Pontiff.'" ¹¹⁶ Although Drake knew a smattering of Spanish, he used an interpreter on formal occasions. Some members of his crew were bilingual in English and Spanish. ¹¹⁷

At the more learned and aristocratic end of the social scale than Drake, Sir John Harington read the *Book of Martyrs* from boyhood until the end of his life. Born in 1560, he was the son of John Harington of Stepney, who won the confidence of Princess Elizabeth because of his loyalty during the dark days of Mary I. Having recalled that the elder Harington "was ready to serve and love us in trouble and thrall," ¹¹⁸ Elizabeth expressed favor in return by consenting to become godmother to his son. Engaging in selective reading in the manner of Drake, the younger Harington stressed controversy concerning episcopacy and material concerning his godmother before she became queen. He studied at Eton College, where his instruction in classical languages entailed translation of Foxe's "The Miraculous Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth." He accordingly enters the following reminiscence as an annotation concerning the changeability of Fortune in his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*:

Drake: The Queen's Pirate (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 303–304; and Glyn Parry, "Elect Church or Elect Nation? The Reception of the *Acts and Monuments*," in *JFHP*, pp. 172–75.

¹¹⁶ Zelia Nuttall, ed. and trans., *New Light on Drake: A Collection of Documents Relating to his Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1577–80*, Hakluyt Society, n.s. 34 (1914), pp. 348, 356–57. See *TRI*, fig. 41.

¹¹⁷ Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, p. 141.

¹¹⁸ *Elizabeth I*, ed. Marcus, et al., p. 167n.

All which her highnesse troubles my selfe have the better cause to remember because the first worke I did after I could write Latin was to translate that storie out of the booke of Martyrs into Latin, as *Master Thomas Arundell* and *Sir Edward Hobby* can tell who had their parts in the same taske, being then Schollers in Eaton as I was, and namely that last verse I remember was translated thus:

Plurimi de me malè suspicantur,
Attamen de me mala non probantur.

Elizabetha
carcere clausa.¹¹⁹

This schoolboy exercise cut against the grain of the progressive vernacularization of Foxe's collection by translating the following English version of her clever epigram:

Much suspected by mee,
Nothing proved can be.
Quod Elisabeth the prisoner.¹²⁰

This anecdote provides a colorful instance of the reading of the *Book of Martyrs* within the context of an elite school for boys. By giving a transcription of this schoolboy translation to his godmother, Harington engaged in coterie manuscript circulation very different from the publication in print of a story that asserts that she survived danger of death due to providential intervention.

When Harington went up to Cambridge University, he received instruction in Latin and Greek from Samuel Fleming, a fellow of King's College whom he remembered as "a grave and learned man and one of a verie austere life."¹²¹ This tutor contributed a preface to the 1576 version of the *Book of Martyrs* edited by another fellow at King's, Richard Day. Harington was not an uncritical adherent of this book, however, because he attributed the identification of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague with the two witnesses of Revelation 11 to "owr honest and not subtle, but simple" martyrologist.¹²² Later in life, after reading law at Lincoln's Inn, Harington counseled Prince Henry Frederick against the dangers of Puritanism in an ostensibly private manuscript. His material concerning the persecution of martyrs by the Marian bishops comes from Foxe's martyrology. In addition to the previously cited story about Bonner's purported response to

¹¹⁹ *Orlando furioso*, trans. Harington, ed. McNulty, pp. 541–42.

¹²⁰ 1563, p. 1714.

¹²¹ D. H. Craig, *Sir John Harington* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), p. 7.

¹²² *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. Henry Harington and Thomas Park (1804), 2.296–97.

his portrayal in the *Book of Martyrs* (see Chapter 3.E), Harington incorporates other anecdotes about how this persecutor was “crewill and peremptory in prosperitie” and “pacienc and pleasant in adversitie.” Harington recalls from his youth that the bishop “was so hated, that every ill favord fat fellow, that went in the Streete, they would say it was Bonner.” Harington is not off the mark in counseling the Prince of Wales that Foxe’s prolix account of Stephen Gardiner “ys so full (though I doubt not, verie faithfull) that I feare your highnes will finde it over tedious to reade.” This is particularly the case in the 1563 version of Gardiner’s career, which underwent drastic curtailment in 1570. Although Harington does acknowledge instances of Gardiner’s “clemencie, and good conscience,” he shares the general Protestant antipathy to the late Bishop of Winchester: “But now for his sharp persecuting, or rather revenging himself, on Cranmer and Ridley, that had in king Edwards dayes deprived him, his too great crueltie cannot be excused.” He focused, yet again, on the endangerment of his future godmother when Gardiner served as the chief minister of Mary I: “Lastly the plotts he layd to entrap the lady Elizabeth, his terrible hard usage of all her followers I cannot yet skarce thinke of with charitie, nor wryte of with patience.” Harington’s quip concerning Gardiner’s persecution of his parents bears out his well-deserved reputation for facetiousness: “I may say in some sort, this bishop persecuted me before I was borne.”¹²³

It would be farfetched to claim that Harington’s reading of the *Book of Martyrs* was in keeping with Foxe’s observation that “*Preachers, Printers, & Players . . . be set up of God, as a triple bulwarke agaynst the triple crown of the Pope.*”¹²⁴ Nevertheless, it is appropriate that members of these three vocations read its text. Beginning with John Day, printers played a crucial role in its compilation, revision, and expansion. So also, clerics set up copies in churches, read it in preachers’ libraries, and mined it for homiletical material. In *Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, Samuel Clarke refers to the *Book of Martyrs* in ways “so cryptic as to suggest that a knowledge of the context could be assumed, as with scripture itself.”¹²⁵ John Winthrop’s manuscript notes on a 1628 sermon delivered by Thomas Mott at Groton, Suffolk, demonstrate how this preacher resorted to a letter by William Bradford that Foxe reprinted (*A&M* [1570], pp. 1824–25). It originally

¹²³ Harington, *A Supply or Addition to the Catalog of Bishops*, pp. 45, 64–67.

¹²⁴ 1570, p. 1524. See also p. 967. Protestants lacked a monopoly on the claim that printing was divinely inspired (see Chapter 2, n. 6).

¹²⁵ Collinson, *Godly People*, p. 507.

appeared in Bull's edition of *Comfortable Letters* (pp. 338–41). With reference to the comfort that faith offers to believers during time of tribulation, Mott averred: "So our English martyrs, as Bradford to his fellow. If there be any way to heaven on horseback, etc." Regardless of whether Mott identified his source, Winthrop refers to it in a manner that presupposes intimate familiarity with this text.¹²⁶ A meticulous auditor of sermons, Winthrop was elected to serve as the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629.

A divine named John Stockwood drew Foxe into nascent controversy concerning predestinarian theology when he appended notes from pages 1840–42 of the 1570 version of the *Book of Martyrs* to his translation of a treatise by Théodore de Bèze, *The Treasure of Truth, Touching the Ground Work of Man his Salvation, and Chiefest Points of Christian Religion* (1576). In adapting this text to the needs of *illiterati*, Stockwood also appended a commentary concerning election and reprobation by Anthony Gilby, with whom Foxe had lodged when they fled to Frankfurt during the reign of Mary I.¹²⁷ In addition to providing instruction to lay readers, this octavo would have provided a useful source for preachers faced with the need to deliver sermons in parish churches.

Despite the seriousness of clerics such as Stockwood and other sober-minded readers, the enjoyment of stories of persecution and suffering was an important component in the early reception of the *Book of Martyrs*. Clement Cotton is accordingly mindful of the Horatian dictum of *docere et delectare* ("to teach and delight") when he counsels readers that his popular abridgement of Foxe's martyrology, *The Mirror of Martyrs*, will afford "sound comfort" and "profitable *delight*" (A3^{r-v}). The "Treatise of Afflictions and Persecutions of the Faithful" appended to the 1631–32 version of the *Book of Martyrs* similarly declares that the "persecutions of the faithful . . . are not onely *profitable* but *pleasant* also" ([2nd]A2^r, B2^r; emphases added). In a set of observations concerning martyrdom entitled *The Saints' Encouragement in Evil Times* (1648), Edward Leigh further observes that "'the book of martyrs was in high esteem all the days of Queen Elizabeth: All Churches by authority were enjoined to have it, so as all that would might read it. There was scarce a family of note that had it

¹²⁶ "John Winthrop's Sermon Notebook," Massachusetts Historical Society, Winthrop Papers, MS n-262, fol. 185^r. I am indebted to Francis Bremer and Thomas Freeman for this citation.

Bremer argues that Foxe was a widespread part of the oral culture of the New England Colony, even though people seemed to have had little opportunity to read his work, in "Foxe in the Wilderness: The *Book of Martyrs* in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *JFHA*, pp. 105–15.

¹²⁷ Mozley, p. 46.

not, it was usuall to spend the long winter evenings in reading it” (A10^r). He attributes this view to William Gouge, a popular Puritan divine whose exposition of Ephesians 6:10–20, *The Whole Armor of God: Or, A Christian's Spiritual Furniture to Keep Him Safe from all the Assaults of Satan*, went into five editions between 1616 and 1647. As a presbyterian cleric, Leigh served in the Westminster Assembly in 1643.¹²⁸ His opinion accords with that of Thomas Fuller, who declares of his *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), a book that draws heavily on the *Book of Martyrs*, that he “purposefully interlaced (not as meat, but as condiment) many delightful stories, that so the Reader if he do not arise (which I hope and desire) *Religiosior* or *Doctior*, with more Piety or Learning, at least he may depart *Jucundior*, with more pleasure and lawful delight.”¹²⁹ He views literary pleasure as a means of inculcating moral virtue in his readers.

In accordance with such views and Foxe's own praise of “Preachers, Printers, & Players,” Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights searched the *Book of Martyrs* for sensational incidents suitable for serio-comic dramatization at the public theaters. In addition to extracting material from Foxe's history of the Turks for *Tamburlaine the Great*, for example, Christopher Marlowe alludes to the well-known visual model of Henry VIII's debasement of Pope Clement VII (Figure 43) when the Scythian conqueror mounts his throne with a mocking step on the back of Bajazeth, the defeated sultan who kneels in the manner of a “footstool” (part one, 4.2.14–15).¹³⁰ In dramatizing more recent history, Jacobean playwrights suppressed reference to the temporizing of Elizabeth I, which troubled Foxe, in representing her as a “godly” ruler committed to evangelical Protestantism. In *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607), for example, Thomas Dekker and John Webster dramatize the rebellion that marked the onset of persecution under Mary I. In contrast to an idealized line of Protestant succession extending from Henry VIII through Edward VI and even Lady Jane Grey, the regime of the “catholicke Queene” and her husband Philip, the “forraine Prince” (A4^v, E3^r), undergoes dramatization as an aberration that preceded the providential deliverance of England at the accession of Elizabeth I. In a similar way, Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (performed c. 1606–07) praises James I as the heir to Titania (i.e., Elizabeth), whose succession to the throne constituted a “providential” victory of the “true” church. So also, William Shakespeare

¹²⁸ Leigh's marginal note cites a sermon by Gouge on Exodus 13:13.

¹²⁹ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), p. 2.

¹³⁰ See *TRI*, p. 178.

and his collaborator, John Fletcher, resort to Foxe's account of Stephen Gardiner's plotting against Thomas Cranmer for the details of courtly intrigue that they dramatize in the final act of *Henry VIII* (1613).

The first part of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody: Or, The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* makes broader use of the *Book of Martyrs* in its dramatization of key incidents in what may be its best-known story, "The Miraculous Preservation of Lady Elizabeth."¹³¹ It is important to remember that because Foxe concludes his history soon after the queen's accession, his narrative molded her image at the outset of her reign, whereas Heywood and others dramatized it retrospectively after her death. First performed in 1604, this play sentimentalizes the princess's suffering when suspicion of complicity in plots against her sister endangered her life. Heywood exploits the story's tragicomic trajectory by dramatizing her perseverance despite perils that lead her from imprisonment at the Tower of London to Woodstock, the manor in Oxfordshire where she remained under house arrest for more than a year.

Heywood's play dramatizes issues related to the hierarchy of literacy notable in the *Book of Martyrs* when Elizabeth sends word to bystanders as she is traveling en route to imprisonment at Woodstock. In proclaiming that she is "tanquam ovis" ("like a sheep"), she applies to her own experience the Latin text of Isaiah 53:7, which Christians interpret as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. Heywood plays this moment of high seriousness for laughs in a manner that transforms the tension between learned and vernacular languages in the printed narrative into a joke at the expense of anonymous rustics who are ignorant of Latin. They engage in the following exchanges of made-up dialect:

1. *Tanqus Ovrus* pray whats *tanqus Ovrus* neighbor.
2. If the priest were here hee'd smell it out straight.

and, a few lines later:

1. *Tanqus Ovrus*, that I should live to see, *tanqus Ovrus*.
2. I shall nere love *tanquam Ovrus* againe for this tricke.

The princess's cook, who boasts of having "been a scholler," offers this explanation:

¹³¹ For a helpful study of *IYKNM*, see Ivo Kamps, *Historiography and Ideology in Stuart Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), ch. 3. Also see Marsha S. Robinson, *Writing the Reformation: Actes and Monuments and the Jacobean History Play* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

She, *tanquam Ovis* said, even like a sheep,
That's to the slaughter led.

This interchange humorously dramatizes the interaction of different literacy levels in a manner analogous to the stratified reception of the *Book of Martyrs* by *literati* and *illiterati*. Another scene dramatizes a by-now legendary instance of taciturnity that accords with one of Elizabeth's personal mottos, *Video et Taceo* ("I see and remain silent"). The stage princess keeps her own counsel by inscribing this famous epigram not onto a window with her diamond ring, as in the original, but by writing in her Bible:

Much suspected by me, nothing prov'd can be,
Finis quoth Elizabeth the prisoner.¹³²

This pietistic scene is in keeping with Elizabeth's earlier self-dramatization as an evangelical princess when she entered the Tower of London from the riverside via Traitors' Gate. Sitting down on a cold stone at the lowest point of her tragic descent, she asks an attendant for her book (presumably a Bible) and reflects on her good fortune in at least remaining alive: "But better heere, than in a worser place / Where this bad man will lead me" (lines 605–606).

In one of the most expansive stagings of material from the *Book of Martyrs*, *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* (1631), Thomas Drue makes good use of the story of Catherine Brandon, a militantly Protestant dowager-duchess. Casting her in the role of a romantic heroine whose flight into exile with her newborn child involves many hair's-breadth escapes and providential reversals of fortune prior to her second husband's romance-like investment as a Polish earl, the playwright assimilates memorable incidents from elsewhere in Foxe's martyrological history into this adventurous play. Not only does Drue cast Bishop Bonner as a melodramatic villain who undergoes imprisonment at the Marshalsea at the conclusion of the play, despite the fact that he appears nowhere in the printed story of the duchess's escape from England, Drue's dramatizations of the burning of Latimer and Ridley (Figure 38) and Archbishop Cranmer's repentant burning of his hand bring to life some of the most famous narratives and woodcuts in the entire collection. Conclusion of the play with the cessation of the persecution of Protestants at the death of

¹³² *IYKNM, Part One*, ed. Madeleine Doran, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), lines 889–97, 1036–37.

Mary I accords with Foxe's representation of the providential deliverance and accession of Elizabeth as a "godly" queen.

Following the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, the *Book of Martyrs* contributed to the infusion of antipapal sentiment into the nationalistic celebration of the 5th of November (also known as Guy Fawkes Day or Gunpowder Day). Marked with the burning of bonfires and ringing of bells, it absorbed commemoration of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by a fleet commanded by Charles Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham. Patriotic citizens had previously celebrated this earlier deliverance on the Accession Day of Elizabeth I (17 November).¹³³ The by-now conventional nature of well-known woodcuts in the *Book of Martyrs* accordingly feeds into a title page that Frederik van Hulsen engraved for Christopher Lever's *The History of the Defenders of the Catholic Faith* (1627; Figure 50).¹³⁴ It seems likely that the designer constructed its iconographical program in order to boost sales of this book. Medallions supported by Elizabeth I and her successor respectively portray the Spanish Armada and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot at the base of a compartment whose top level emulates the title page of the Coverdale Bible in its portrayal of Henry VIII's dissemination of the English Bible.¹³⁵ Flanking the title, portrayals of Edward VI and Mary I contain banners with miniaturized scenes modeled on woodcuts commissioned by John Day. In imitation of the Reformation allegory that begins Foxe's account of Edward's reign, his banner displays the purgation of the "true" church as the allegorical ship of the Roman Church prepares to export "papist" paraphernalia out of England (see Figure 23). The banner carried by Mary contains a visual précis of martyrs in flames and celebration of a "demonic" Mass modeled on the title-page border of the *Book of Martyrs*. These conventional Foxean scenes are used repeatedly in illustrated broadsheets across the seventeenth century.

The Spanish Armada and Gunpowder Plot were on the mind of a seventeenth-century annotator who set forth an intricate program for studying the seventh edition of the *Book of Martyrs* (1631–32). These notes demonstrate that at least one reader literate in Latin showed interest in vernacular passages that this individual marks with notations of this

¹³³ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), pp. 142, 160.

¹³⁴ See Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols. Volume 3 compiled by Margery Corbett and Michael Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1952–64), 3.214.

¹³⁵ See *Voices*, fig. 1.



50. Scenes derived from the *Book of Martyrs* are a feature of the engraved title page of Christopher Lever's *The History of the Defenders of the Catholic Faith* (1627).

A condensation of Henry VIII trampling on Pope Clement VII appears at the top (compare Figure 43). In the second level, Edward VI and stern-looking Mary I hold banners that contain scenes that exemplify events of their reigns (compare Figures 23 and 2). Identified by their mottos – “Always the Same” and “Blessed are the Peace Makers” – Elizabeth I and James I respectively support medallions that depict the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot. The armored figure of Philip II of Spain appears in the foreground before the departure of the Armada for England.

kind: “X hoc lectum” (“[read] this selection”), or “X hoc,” or “X this read.” These notes suggest that many, if not most, readers engaged in selective study of discontinuous passages, rather than *seriatim* reading from beginning to end. More expansive readings are marked with instructions to read “hinc ad finem libri” (“from this place to the end of the book”) or “hinc lectum ad finem libelli” (“from here to the end of the writing”). In approaching supplementary material concerning Elizabethan and Stuart history that is contained in the continuation added to the third volume, this individual devotes particular attention to the two providential deliverances: “here lett [i.e., permit] of to read y^e Spanish invasion & gunnepowder treason.” At the first mention of the Armada, this *litteratus* indicates that the period from 1588 to 1605 was a period of national emergency: “hoc lectum ad mortem ducis de Guise yn” (“after ye discourse of gunpowder treason read”). In other words, the annotator recommends that individuals read from this point through to the account of the death of the Duke of Guise. When we come to the Gunpowder Plot, we encounter an instruction to read “hoc lectum ad finem discursus” (“this selection to the end of the discourse”). Assuming that some readers will begin in the middle of this account, the annotator recommends at the end of this episode that they go back to read “ffrom the beginning of y^e discourse of y^e gunpowder-treason, huc [i.e., hoc] lectum.”¹³⁶

An enduring concern with historical veracity motivated a west countryman named John Deighton to express a desire to correct an error that had appeared in the 1631–32 version of the *Book of Martyrs* and its predecessors. He thus explains his motivation: “I wish for y^e reverence I beare to y^e memory of M^r ffox whose person & place of dwellinge I know & the honor & love I beare to his worke y^t this small error w^{ch} is nowe of his weare amended.” At the verge of living memory of the Marian burnings, this correspondent sent a highly circumstantial report to an unknown recipient concerning oral tradition about a burning that took place at the parish of Wolten-under-Edge in Gloucestershire during the waning weeks of the persecution of Protestant heretics. He assigns blame for a mistaken account concerning the execution of one John Horne and a female companion to “those y^t made the Certification for M^r ffoxe out of the registers of Gloucester or Worcester ffor it cannot be proved y^t any such person or woman suffered at Wolten afforesaide.” Deighton instead identifies Edward Horne as the martyr who died at Court Orchard, which was near

¹³⁶ OSU BR1600 .F6 1631, copy 2, 3.i.894, 906, 921, 926, 927, 932, 938 1015; 3.ii.78 [i.e., 76], 86, 96.

the parish churchyard. Although his wife had been condemned to die with him, she recanted in order to save her life. Deighton reports that his own kinfolk had spoken with one or two aged individuals who “did se him there burnt & d[o] certifie y^t at his death he sange the 146 psalme untill that his lipps were burnt away & then they sawe his tounge move untill he fell downe in the fier.” In local memory, particular notoriety was attached to the two glovers or fishmongers who constructed the pyre that consumed Horne. Referring to “my note booke,” Deighton reports that the “sonne of this martyr is now livinge in the same parish & caled Christopher Horne an honest poore man beinge about 78 or 79 yeres & borne in Queene maries tyme about a quarter of a yere before his father suffered. his mother y^t promised to suffer wth hir husband & recanted after she was condemned was after married to one Whocke of the parish of Teynton wthin a myle or 2 of . . . where hir first husband was borne.”¹³⁷

During the social upheaval that produced the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, many readers looked to the *Book of Martyrs* as a source for dissident religio-political ideas. Just as the Laudians corrected Foxe's endorsement of royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs with the ideal of *jure divino* episcopacy, many nonconformists denied the authority of both princes and martyr-bishops.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, others read it in an apolitical manner. We encounter reading notes of this kind in a notebook written in the hand of John Ward (d. 1681), Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon and Rector of Dorsington.¹³⁹ Noting that he has read his copy of the *Book of Martyrs* from beginning to end, he acts in accordance with the literacy hierarchy by entering his notes on Foxe's vernacular text in the English language, whereas his annotations on other books are in Latin. Following an opening ascription – “Ex Lib: Martyr:” – he proceeds through Foxe's division of apocalyptic history into five ages, each of which endures for about 300 years (church's suffering, growing, declining, Antichrist, and reforming) (fol. 2).¹⁴⁰ In a manner that resembles Clement Cotton's *Mirror of Martyrs*, Ward's notations stress the last words of martyrs, either through transcription or the inclusion of place indicators. In rendering the text more dramatic by extracting moving speeches out of the more extensive printed narrative, he even absorbs wording from banderoles into his abstracts. Of the burning of Laurence Saunders he writes: “Mr. Saunders took up the stake and kidded it saying welcome the cross

¹³⁷ BL Harley MS 425, fol. 121^r.

¹³⁸ Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp. 174–75.

¹³⁹ FL MS V.a.289, fols. 2^r–54^v.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 1.C.

of X [i.e., Christ]: welcome everlasting life.”¹⁴¹ In the case of St. Polycarp, whose martyrology affords the source for final words ascribed to Hugh Latimer from the second edition onward, Ward extracts the following details from Foxe’s account of the early Christian saint (Figure 51):

When Polycarpus was at y^e place of execution or at least wise going to a vision said to him Polycarpus bee of good cheer and play y^e man: many heard y^e voice but none saw who spake:

When Polycarpus was urged by y^e proconsull to deny Christ, hee answerd 86 years have I been his servant, yet in all this time hath hee not so much as once hurt mee, how yⁿ [i.e., then] may I speak evill of my King and Sovereign Lord who hath thus preservd mee: 55p

When y^e Proconsull threatned Polycarpus with fire: ah said hee you threaten mee with fire which shall burn for y^e space of an hour but you know not y^e fire [text struck out] of y^e judgment y^t is to come out of y^e everlasting punishment reserved for y^e wicked and ungodly . . .

Polycarpus suffered martyrdome in y^e very Church where he had formerly took paines in preaching¹⁴²

Although the *Book of Martyrs* won favor, and disfavor, from both formalistic and anti-formalistic readers across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its theological rigorism appealed increasingly to dissident and nonconformist readers as episcopacy and monarchy became increasingly unpopular during the 1630s and 1640s. We know that Milton owned or read a copy,¹⁴³ but he had rejected its endorsement of episcopal government of the Church of England by the time that he celebrated the downfall of the bishops in *Of Reformation* (1641). In direct opposition to Foxe, he undermines the heroization of Hugh Latimer and the bishop-martyrs, notably Cranmer and Ridley, by ascribing the failure of the Edwardian Reformation to “halting and time-serving Prelates.” In a sardonic allusion to Foxe’s praise of Elizabeth I as a New Constantine in the dedicatory epistle of the 1563 version, Milton describes how Truth is unlikely to regain favor “unlesse shee can bring a Ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her selfe a retainer to *Constantine*, and weare his badge.” Despite his

¹⁴¹ As quoted in Woolf, *Reading History*, p. 112.

¹⁴² FL MS V.a.289, fol. 6^v. The page reference is to A&M (1641).

¹⁴³ Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Milton’s Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton’s Library and An Annotated Reconstruction of Milton’s Library and Ancillary Readings* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1975), no. 617.

these “holy books” as fixed points of reference during pious reading. He found justification in Foxe’s martyrological history for attacks that he directed against stained glass, monumental brasses, crucifixes, and altar railings in more than 200 parish churches in East Anglia during the first Civil War (1643–44). Dowsing approvingly cites a reference to the destruction of religious images a century earlier in writing to Matthew Newcomen, a contributor to the Smectymnuan attack on the prelates who joined the Westminster Assembly: “I only reffere you to that famous story in Ed[ward VI’s reign] how the English got the victory against the Scots in Museleborough field the same day & hower the reformation was wrought in London and images burnt a—A[cts] & M[onuments] edit[ion] last.” Dowsing refers to page 669 of the 1610 version in this draft letter, which he inscribed at the back of his copy of Jeremiah Whitaker’s *Christ the Settlement in Unsettled Times* (1642).¹⁴⁵

Even though the eighth edition was the only version published during the revolutionary era, abridgements sustained the application of Foxean precedents in support of contemporary agitation for ecclesiastical changes. Dowsing might thus have found support for his demolition of altars and the railings that sequestered them from congregations in an extract from Foxe’s book published in the form of an ephemeral pamphlet at the height of the attack on the bishops: *A Letter of that Most Religious and Pious Prince King Edward the Sixth to Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London, for the Taking Down of Altars, and Setting up the Table in the Stead Thereof* (1641). This document ordered the erection of tables in churches for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper in the form of a communal meal that conveys no suggestion of the Mass as a repeated sacrifice or of the doctrine of transubstantiation. An antiprelatical commentary applies this liturgical reform as a precedent for the smashing of altars restored to the east end of churches by order of the Laudian bishops. Although this pamphlet attacks Caroline prelates for swerving away from the 1559 settlement of religion, it appeals to Parliament to restore ideals of primitive episcopacy that held sway during the heyday of Archbishop Cranmer by revoking “innovations” imposed by “this degenerating order of *Bishops* (under

¹⁴⁵ John Morrill, “William Dowsing, the Bureaucratic Puritan,” in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer*, ed. John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 178, 180–81, 188; and “William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm in the Puritan Revolution,” in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*, ed. Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press in association with The Ecclesiological Society, 2001), pp. 5–6, 11.

which the *Kingdome* groanes)” in order that “their lordly power, pride, and cruelty, shall swell no more above the banks of moderation to the ruine of the Church and Common Wealth.”¹⁴⁶ Unlike Milton's *Of Reformation*, this antiprelatical pamphlet accepts the bishop-martyrs of the *Book of Martyrs* as suitable spiritual models.

Radical readers would have taken solace in another ephemeral tract, *King Jesus Is the Believer's Prince, Priest, and Lawgiver, in Things Appertaining to the Conscience* (1645). Francis Cornwell excerpted it “out of the learned workes of Mr. *John Fox*, in his book of Martyrs, excepting onely some explanations of his owne, for the benefit of the Reader.” Having taken consolation in Foxe's exposition of the “Difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel” during his imprisonment for opposing Laudian ecclesiastical innovations, this anti-formalistic minister publishes a brief selection in the form of a tract opposed to the Roman Catholic view that grace must be supplemented by good works. He cites Foxe's martyrology alongside the Bible as a holy book in concluding that “these Principles, and infallible rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny, so if they be granted, the doctrine then of the Popes Church must needs be found not to be Catholike, but rather full of Errors and Heresies.”¹⁴⁷

In *Canterbury's Doom* (1646), William Prynne claims that Archbishop Laud attacked the *Book of Martyrs* because it favored the placement of communion tables in the midst of the congregation gathered in the naves of churches. Following the Root and Branch Petition of 1640, this presbyterian pamphleteer largely abandoned his belief in “godly” bishops, who endorsed the antipapal tradition of the *Book of Martyrs*, as opposed to Laudian prelates, whose belief in divine-right episcopacy denied it. By shifting away from Foxe's “centripetal millenarianism,”¹⁴⁸ the latter lent credence to Prynne's distorted view that Laud blocked publication of Foxe's book. Prynne refers to the time when the archbishop aroused controversy by ordering the translation of communion tables to the eastern end of choirs, where their “Altarwise” position surrounded by railings reminded Puritans of the Roman-rite Mass and doctrine of transubstantiation. In describing a 1633 meeting of the parish council at St. Gregory's Church in the City of London, this propagandist approvingly cites the anti-altar positions of Jewel's

¹⁴⁶ Wing E186; BL E.157[16] (Thomason Collection), B2^r. On this tract and the following example, see pp. 153–54, above.

¹⁴⁷ Wing F2041; BL E.1179[2] (Thomason Collection), A3^{r-v}, C8^v.

¹⁴⁸ Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp. 49, 59, 67.

A Reply unto Master Harding's Answer (1565) and the 1610 version of the *Book of Martyrs*, “which Books were enjoined to be kept in every Church for the people to read in as containing the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and nought repugnant thereunto.” He accuses Laud for having “stood up in an angry manner, and sayd, *If this be the use they make of these Books Jewell & Fox, I desire they may be taken out of Churches*” (pp. 87–88). During an ensuing debate at Whitehall Palace, if Prynne is to be believed, witnesses “deposed, that after the Decree for printing was made, there were divers old Bookes against Popery formerly Licensed (as the Booke of *Martyres*, Bishop *Jewells Workes*, some parts of Doctor *Willets Workes* and others) which the Archbishops and Bishop of *Londons* Chaplaines refused to new License” (Bb2^v).

The Restoration was a tumultuous era during which the *Book of Martyrs* appealed to formalistic and anti-formalistic Protestants alike. For example, it was the only book other than the Bible that John Bunyan read during his imprisonment for unlicensed preaching. Literate only in the vernacular, this mechanic preacher applied it as a source for *Pilgrim's Progress* and other books.¹⁴⁹ Toward the other end of the social scale, Samuel Pepys commissioned a binding for a copy of the 1641 version of the *Book of Martyrs*. As Secretary of the Admiralty, this highly literate and multilingual reader was a prominent member of the Restoration establishment. He purchased the book in sheets on 21 August 1668 from William Shrewsbury, a bookseller and binder with premises on Duck Lane in the City of London. On 12 October he received delivery of the copy that is bound with one of about eight variations of his standard binding. He then ordered his maids to cut the pages.¹⁵⁰ Bearing Pepys's armorial device and motto, *Mens Cuiusque is Est Quisquis*, the three volumes remain on the shelves of one out of twelve of the original glass-fronted bookcases in which he idiosyncratically organized his books in exact size order in a serpentine fashion that necessitated double shelving for some of the smaller books. They are housed to the present day at the Bibliotheca Pepysiana at Magdalene College, Cambridge (shelf mark Pepys 2536–38). Notes that the diarist made during the course of a 1683 expedition to bring the English garrison home from Tangier suggest that he brought this copy on shipboard in the manner of Sir Francis

¹⁴⁹ See Thomas Freeman, “A Library in Three Volumes: Foxe's ‘Book of Martyrs’ in the Writings of John Bunyan,” *Bunyan Studies* 5 (1994), pp. 48–57.

¹⁵⁰ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, et al., vol. 1–10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970–83), 9.284.

Drake.¹⁵¹ It is unclear why he also purchased a copy of the 1684 edition,¹⁵² because he followed a policy of vigorously discarding duplicates. He retained his copy of the 1641 edition, furthermore, despite the contemporary view that later editions were more valuable.

The malleability of the *Book of Martyrs* is apparent in the many different ways that publicists adapted it in favor of radically different religio-political arguments. In welcoming the Restoration with a pamphlet entitled *A Seasonable Vindication of the Supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of Christian Kings, Lords, Parliaments, as well over the Possessions, as Persons of Delinquent Prelates and Churchmen* (1660), the ever-nimble William Prynne introduces an extract from the 1641 version of Foxe's book into the debate over whether to restore ecclesiastical property alienated during the 1640s and 1650s. Prynne also incorporates Jan Hus's defense of Wyclif's position concerning supremacy of temporal authority over the church into this pro-monarchical quarto. This tract appeals to Charles II to proceed with restoration of the "ancient and late alienations of Abbots, Bishops, Cathedral lands, now under your Majesties and your Parliaments Deliberation" on the condition that financial restitution be granted to "their Purchasers satisfaction, for the prevention of future Animosities, suits, & establishment of Cordial Unity, Amity between all Your Subjects, after their many years sad Intestine bloody Schisms and Discords" (*2^v).

Oppositional voices frequently had recourse to the *Book of Martyrs*. During the course of satirizing the insistence of Samuel Parker, Archdeacon of Canterbury, on strict conformity to the ceremonial practices of the Church of England, for example, Andrew Marvell accordingly attributes an attack on "the Fanatical *Book of Martyrs*" to Mr. Bayes (a pseudonym for Parker) in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, Part One (1572).¹⁵³ Henry Care tuned anti-papistry to a higher pitch during a time when nationalistic Protestants feared popish plots would upset the religio-political order. When the government of James I was intent on suppressing this publicist's *Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome: Or, The History of Popery* (1678–83), the 10 October 1679 issue invoked the authority of the Marian martyrs. Not only was Care influenced by the *Book of Martyrs*, but he also published a 22 June 1683 announcement for a proposed new

¹⁵¹ *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Edwin Chappell, Navy Records Society, 73 (1935), p. 164.

¹⁵² Woolf, *Reading History*, p. 211.

¹⁵³ Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, ed. D. I. B. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 89.

edition of this book.¹⁵⁴ A decade later, an anonymous publisher enlisted the *Book of Martyrs* in the form of an anti-Jacobite tract printed during the political crisis triggered by the birth of a male heir to James II. Entitled *Idem Iterum: Or, The History of Queen Mary's Big-Belly*, this pamphlet is appropriate to the time that spawned the Revolution of 1688, because it contains an account of the false pregnancy of Mary I extracted from the *Book of Martyrs* and Peter Heylin's *History of the Reformation* (1661). This tract implicitly intimates that the queen consort, Mary of Modena, failed to deliver an infant that someone sneaked into the birthing chamber as a fraudulent claimant to the throne. At a moment when nationalistic Protestants loathed the prospect of a Roman Catholic succession, recollection of the Marian persecutions afforded a disastrous precedent for the birth of James, the Old Pretender.

The *Book of Martyrs* traveled to the New World not only on board the Golden Hind, but also among books taken by colonists to New England and the British colonies to the south. Relatively few copies of this expensive book existed in the British colonies in North America, and its readership was confined largely to divines. Even though Foxean ideas are readily apparent in manuscripts and printed books, we encounter few concrete citations because "his vision of the history and nature of true English Christianity was so influential that it needed no attribution." Notable readers in seventeenth-century New England included William Bradford, John Cotton, Roger Williams, Richard Mather, and the poets, Edward Taylor and Michael Wigglesworth.¹⁵⁵ It seems likely that John Winthrop, who displayed familiarity with its text before he emigrated from England, brought a copy with him.¹⁵⁶ In a letter dated 16 March 1672, Samuel Sewall, a prosperous merchant in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and future judge at the Salem witch trials, informed a friend about his sister, Betty: "She can Read, and Spin passing well; Things . . . very desirable in a Woman. She read through one Volume [of] the Book of Martyrs, in three Moneths space; improving only leisure times [at] Night." Her dedication

¹⁵⁴ Lois G. Schworer, *The Ingenious Mr. Henry Care, Restoration Publicist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 71, 89, 267, n. 144.

¹⁵⁵ Francis J. Bremer, "Foxe in the Wilderness: The *Book of Martyrs* in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *JFHA*, pp. 105–15, citing p. 115. See also Karl Keller, "The Example of Edward Taylor," in *The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in Revaluation*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 127.

¹⁵⁶ See pp. 300–301, above.

of daylight hours to reading an entire volume during a period of ninety days would have left little time for spinning.¹⁵⁷

The influential Boston minister, Cotton Mather, owned copies of the 1641 and 1684 versions. He had the habit of quickly skimming books for nuggets to quote in his own writing, which he recorded in notebooks that he called *Quotidiana*. This divine took the *Book of Martyrs* as a model for his *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England* (1702), which Thomas Parkhurst printed in London in an instance of the transatlantic nature of the book trade and continuing dependence of the American colonies on English printers. Indeed, Mather alludes to Foxe's martyrology in the title of Book 5: "Acts and Monuments Containing the Faith and the Order in the Churches of New-England." In explaining the American separation from the Church of England, he writes at another point in *Magnalia* that "there were many of the Reformers, who joyned with the Reverend John Foxe in the Complaints which he then entred in his Martyrology about the Baits of Popery yet left in the Church, and in his Wishes: 'God take them away, or else us from them, for God knows, they be the Cause of much Blindness and Strife amongst Men!'" In apologizing for a two-year delay in publication of his *Magnalia*, he refers to Foxe's *Ad doctum Lectorem* in noting that "Our English Martyrologer, counted it a sufficient Apology, for what Meanness might be found in the first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, that it was hastily rashed up in about fourteen Months." In writing the biography of John Winthrop, whom he praises as "Nehemias Americanus" for introducing theocratic government in New England, Mather notes that he was a descendent of Adam Winthrop, to whom John Philpot, the Marian martyr, "committed his Papers, which afterwards made no Inconsiderable part of our Martyr-Books." With reference to the execution of Protestants in Yorkshire, he articulates this punning lamentation: "yet, for all the Fires of Martyrdom which were kindled in the Days of Queen Mary, it afforded no more Fuel than one poor *Leaf*; namely, *John Leaf*, an Apprentice, who suffered for the Doctrine of the Reformation at the same Time and Stake with the Famous John Bradford."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 6th series, vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1886), p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana, Books I and II*, ed. Kenneth B. Murdock, with the assistance of Elizabeth W. Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 22–23, 91, 103, 201, and 213. Mather contradicts Foxe's declaration that it took eighteen months to print the 1563 version of *A&M* (see Chapter 2.C.1), in an entry for August 1697 in the *Diary of Cotton Mather 1681–1708*, 1 of 2 vols., Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th series, vols. 7–8 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911–12), 1.230.

Early modern readers of different religious persuasions came to the *Book of Martyrs* with deep convictions that shaped the reception of successive editions of this massive compendium. In the manner that Foxe planned, many Protestant readers searched its pages for insight into the Marian reign of terror as only one of many instances of persecution that they traced back to early Christian times. Roman Catholic critics such as Harpsfield and Parsons countered reading of this kind, however, in their discovery of errors that demonstrate the falsity of Protestant heresy against Holy Church. Protestant preachers such as John Stockwood and John Ward in England and Cotton Mather in New England drew homiletic material from it for sermons, pamphlets, and notes on private reading. It found adherents at all levels of the hierarchy of readership ranging from individuals marginally literate in the vernacular to prodigious polymaths such as Andrew Perne. Copies found their way into the libraries of monarchs, nobles, aristocrats, clerics, merchants, lawyers, yeomen, and other individuals at different points in the social order. Individuals as dissimilar as Lady Margaret Hoby and Nehemiah Wallington looked to it for guidance concerning domestic conduct. It found adherents among formalistic prelates such as Archbishop Laud, on the one hand, and nonconformists such as John Bunyan and Jacob Bauthumley, the quietist librarian, on the other. Across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it appealed to readers with both high- and low-church convictions. Playwrights looked to the *Book of Martyrs* in order to entertain audiences at the public theater, just as readers diverted themselves by reading it and looking at its woodcuts during long winter nights. Reception of this book was anything but uniform and monolithic. It functioned instead as a heterocosm in which individuals could read competing attitudes and opinions both into and out of its ever-shifting and malleable texts.

Readers joined writers, editors, compilers, and publishers as creators of the *Book of Martyrs*, which occupied an important place in many households, churches, guildhalls, and libraries both private and public. Although Foxe attempted to guide interpretation by means of multiple prefaces and marginal notes aimed at both *illiterati* and *literati*, the controversy concerning the martyrological calendar affords only one measure of the divisiveness that this massive compendium stirred up. Readers understood it in ways unanticipated by those who edited or published it. The extraordinary variability of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions, unabridged and abridged, catered to readers who included both supporters of the church establishment and dissenters, as well as royalists

and republicans. As political circumstances changed over the passage of time, radical implications in the *Book of Martyrs* took on the coloration of conservative orthodoxy. We may glean information concerning reception history from records concerning the collection of books by both private owners and public institutions. Marginal notations provide important clues to how the readers who inscribed them understood the *Book of Martyrs*. Commonplace books, diaries, and notebooks reveal, furthermore, how individuals reconstructed the book and incorporated readings into private devotions or advice offered to friends and relatives. As consumers of print, readers had an important impact on editors, publishers, and booksellers. In scrutinizing books, making notes, and compiling manuscript abridgments, summaries, and collections of extracts, readers functioned as vital participants in the dissemination of Foxean history.

The present study has addressed a variety of issues related to what Robert Darnton has called the “communications circuit.”¹⁵⁹ Taking the *Book of Martyrs* as an important exemplar of early modern English book production, we may see how the completion of different manifestations of this book built upon manuscript compilation, but also how financing, printing house practices, and relationships among printers and booksellers affected the publication of successive editions. This study has considered this book's unforgettable program of illustration with reference to the reciprocal relationship between woodcuts as illustrations of texts and texts as commentaries on woodcuts. Building on close examination of many specific copies of each of the early modern editions, abridged and unabridged, it has drawn conclusions concerning both reception by individual readers and reading practices in general.

This study appears at a time when scholars are increasingly attuned to the interrelationship between manuscript and print across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Consideration of methods of compilation extends our understanding by throwing light on the ordering of words on pages, in both manuscript and print, prior to the arrival of copy at the printing house and continuing along their passage through printing presses to the completion of perfected sheets and readying of gatherings for sale or binding. Foxe acted as an overseer of sorts, gathering manuscript materials written by others or sometimes published scribally, and then disseminating them to the broader readership for printed books.

¹⁵⁹ See pp. 14–15, above.

Other manuscripts and printed books indicate that writing *about* the *Book of Martyrs* circulated widely after the printing of successive editions. The quasi-iconic nature of this memorable book shaped ways in which English readers thought about books. Responding to the desires and expectations of readers, John Day, and later printers and booksellers acting under the aegis of the Stationer's Company, proceeded with profit in mind, but also with pragmatic commitment to satisfying expectations of customers.

Foxe embarked on his career within the printing trade when he joined coreligionists such as John Bale in religious exile. For the remainder of his life, he pursued editing, proofreading, and related activities as a means of disseminating his religious convictions. Fugitive details concerning patronage and financing reveal the confidence with which members of Elizabethan establishment backed the profitability of John Day's printing enterprise when the printer assumed considerable risk in publishing an unprecedentedly large and expensive English book. This investigation sheds light on the career of Day, whose activities provide a case study of the way in which an ideologically committed entrepreneur could become arguably the most successful sixteenth-century English printer-publisher. Recognizing that the considerable commercial potential of the *Book of Martyrs* also entailed great risk, succeeding publishers stitched together partnerships in a makeshift and pragmatic manner geared toward moving a massive book through presses and into booksellers' stalls. Market forces also influenced efforts to produce affordable and popular abridgements. This study adds a measure of tangibility to conversations presently underway among those who are interested in the History of the Book.

The exceedingly complicated program of illustration resulted not only in the best-illustrated English book of its era, but also the most extraordinary early modern English woodcut: "A Table of the X. first Persecutions" (Figure 39). This unprecedentedly large and complicated tripartite fold-out illustration surely afforded a shrewd device to boost book sales, at the same time that it provided a useful guide for readers interested in pursuing the history of early Christianity. Day's employment of foreign workmen may have contributed to the production of semi-iconic illustrations that enhanced the memorability of a compendium that some readers regarded as a "holy book" comparable in certain respects to the Bible. The complex interplay of narrative and non-narrative woodcuts demonstrates how Day employed the former as functional adjuncts to specific textual segments at the same time that he or his employees engaged in reusing the latter in a pragmatic manner by filling a designated amount of space left open for illustration. In this fashion the *Book of*

Martyrs is a model for thinking about early modern English book illustration at large. This study raises questions, furthermore, concerning how written text interacts with a set of illustrations that collectively form a new kind of text. Readers responded to the illustrations in a variety of ways that included insertion of handwritten notations or by damaging pictures of Edmund Bonner, whom many Protestants viewed as a *bête noire*. This investigation goes beyond existing studies by demonstrating how these illustrations retained their currency long after the midpoint of the reign of Elizabeth I, which has been identified with an “abrupt cessation of narrative historical illustration.”¹⁶⁰

Based upon the examination of a very large number of copies of each of the early modern editions of the *Book of Martyrs*, this study makes use of artifactual evidence in its consideration of both the ever-changing make-up of an important book and the equally dynamic responses of many generations of readers. The investigation explodes, yet again, the notion that the advent of the printing press imposed fixity onto a text across each of its different printed manifestations.¹⁶¹ In effect, the *Book of Martyrs* became a different text to different categories of readers of nine separate folio editions and a series of abridgements. Investigation of marks inserted by readers and patterns of acquiring copies of this book or collecting it among other books helps to substantiate current debates about early modern reading practices. Among other findings, we note that women made up an important constituency among those who read the book. Compilers, publishers, and writers of commonplace books and other documents devoted considerable attention to the expectations of their readers. Some may believe that the author has died, but the printing history of the *Book of Martyrs* demonstrates that the compilers and publishers with whom they collaborated were very much alive. This study lends force to arguments that books result from the collective impact of human activity on the material elements that went into their production.¹⁶² The history of the *Book of Martyrs* demonstrates that the history of early modern book production and of reading must attend to what people *then* read and thought, not to what we attempt to project back onto our predecessors.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, p. 29.

¹⁶¹ See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 11. For a contradictory position, see McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 136–37, and 139–65, *passim*.

¹⁶² See Introduction.

¹⁶³ See McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 1–2ff.

Glossary of printing terms of the hand-press era¹

black letter: A textura (or gothic) type face that remained in use in the printing of books in the vernacular in Germany and more remote areas of northern Europe after the shift to humanistic type faces (roman and italic) by printers in Antwerp, France, Switzerland, and southern Europe. Also known as “English” type because of its prevalent use in books printed in the English language. After the c. 1590 shift to roman as the typographical standard for English books, black letter remained in use in the *Book of Martyrs* and certain ephemera, and occasionally in religious books and English Bibles.

collation: A description of the arrangement of signatures in a more or less complete copy of a book.

colophon: A designation at the end of a book that typically indicates the name of the printer and/or publisher, place of publication, and date.

compositor: A workman who sets lines of type by hand in a composing stick prior to imposing them into pages and locking them into formes.

deckle: A wooden rim that contains the dampened rag pulp used in the making of paper within a mould.

deckle edges: The uneven edges of an uncut sheet of hand-made paper.

duodecimo: A book composed of sheets folded five times in order to create twelve-leaf (twenty-four-page) gatherings. Typically used in the manufacture of small and inexpensive books.

foliation: The sequential numbering of the leaves in a book, typically on the recto side.

folio: A leaf of paper. Also refers to an entire book composed of sheets folded once and interleaved in order to create sewn gatherings. Typically used in the manufacture of large and expensive works of scholarship.

foolscap: Paper that measures approximately 43×33 cm. This name derives from the watermark originally associated with paper of this size.

¹ Based upon Carter, *View of Early typography*; Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*; OED; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*; and Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*.

format: A description of organization of formes and folding of printed sheets that designates the conjugacy (i.e., joining together) and number of leaves within gatherings.

forme: A chase (i.e., wooden or iron frame) that contained a complete setting of type employed in the printing of pages on one side of a sheet of paper.

fount (or font): A complete set of type characters of the same type face and type size (e.g., 12-point black letter). Compositors respectively distributed capital and small letters into upper and lower cases.

gathering (or quire): A group of folded leaves sewn together at the fold and organized in sequence by means of a signature.

gloss: A marginal note.

illiterati: Readers of the vernacular who are incapable of reading learned languages such as Latin and Greek.

imprint: An indication on a book's title page of the name of the printer and/or publisher, place of publication, and date. Sometimes used as a synonym for a book or edition.

intertitle: An intermediary title set within the text of a book.

italic: A cursive form of roman type originally used by Aldus Manutius in the printing of books in classical Latin. After roman type supplanted it in common use, printers frequently employed it to bring special emphasis to bear on particular words, titles, or glosses.

leaf (or folio): A piece of paper that contains one page on each side.

literati: Individuals capable of reading the learned languages such as Latin and Greek.

manicule (☞): A deictic symbol in the shape of a hand with an extended index finger. From *manicula* (Lat. for "little hand").

medium paper: Sheets that measured approximately 56×44cm.

octavo: A book composed of sheets folded three times in order to create eight-leaf (sixteen-page) gatherings. Typically used in the manufacture of small, popular, and less expensive books.

pagination: The sequential enumeration of pages with numbers.

point (or point-size): The vertical dimension of a type body.

pot paper: Paper of variable size that ranged from 42×38 to 32×28cm. This term derived from the watermark originally associated with paper of this size.

quarto: A book composed of sheets folded twice in order to create four-leaf (eight-page) gatherings.

ream: A bundle of printer's paper of variable size. It typically contained about 500 sheets.

recto: The right-hand page of a book opening.

roman: A type face modeled on late medieval humanistic script originally used in the printing of classical languages. After 1590 it became the typographical standard for the printing of books in the English vernacular, except occasionally for Bibles and some religious writings such as the *Book of Martyrs*.

royal paper: Paper that measured approximately 60×45cm.

sheet: A large piece of paper on which pressmen printed pages on both sides prior to folding the paper into gatherings organized according to an appropriate format.

signature: Letters of the alphabet placed at the foot of some recto pages in order to organize gatherings in sequence. Compositors sometimes supplemented letters by employing printers' symbols, especially in the preliminary gatherings for which they typically set type at the end of a printing run.

skeleton: A reusable framework made up of wooden blocks and repeated typographical elements (e.g., headlines and regular rulings) into which compositors imposed pages of uniform size and position throughout a book.

twenty-line measurement: Standard vertical measurement used to determine type size.

type sizes: Typically evaluated by measuring the height of twenty lines of printed text in millimeters. The following point sizes and millimeter measurements are variable.

- *nonpareil*: A 6-point type (20 lines 40mm.) that is smaller than emerald and larger than ruby. Its name (French for “matchless”) reflects the tininess of this type, which is among the smallest in common use.
- *emerald*: 6.5-point type (20 lines 43mm.).
- *mignonne* (or *minion*): Derived from French for “dainty,” the name of this 7-point fount (20 lines 45mm.) reflects its tininess.
- *brevier*: 8-point type commonly used in the printing of Bibles (20 lines 52–55mm.).
- *bourgeois*: 8.5-point type (20 lines 57–62mm.).
- *long primer*: 10-point type size with a 20-line measurement about 65mm.
- *small pica*: A type size of 10.5–11 points with a 20-line measurement of 70–75mm.
- *pica*: 12-point type size with a 20-line measurement of 79–85mm.

- *Augustine* (or *St. Augustin* or *English*): 13.5-point fount (20 lines 91–100mm.) originally used by continental printers for the printing of patristic theology.
- *great primer*: A 17-point type size with a 20-line measurement of 116–22mm.
- *petit canon* (or *klein canon*): 27-point type (20 lines 180–200mm.) originally employed in the printing of large service books.
- *gros canon* (or *groot canon*): A type size of 42–44 points (20 lines 280mm.) originally employed in the printing of large service books.

verso: The left-hand page of a book opening.

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